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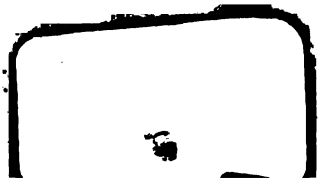

Hon. Theodore Sedgwick.

THE

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

VOLUME SECOND:

CONTAINING TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE TOWNS OF SHREWSBURY, STERLING, LEICESTER, NORTHBOROUGH, WEST BOYLSTON, PAXTON, LANCASTER, AND OTHER PAPERS ILLUSTRATING THE PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE

County of Worcester,

IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WILLIAM LINCOLN & C. C. BALDWIN,
EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS.

WORCESTER:
CHARLES GRIFFIN, PRINTER.
1826.

39273

THE PUBLISHERS TO THE READER.

On the commencement of the work, now arrived to the termination of the first year of its existence, it was proposed by the publishers, *so far as they should be sustained by public patronage*, to furnish to each subscriber within the County of Worcester, a minute and particular account of the town of his residence. It was intended to collect and preserve those facts tending to develope the origin, progress, and present condition of our useful institutions and social relations, and exhibit the resources and advantages bestowed on our fellow citizens, until an entire and complete history should be furnished of the divisions of a territory, from its local situation, physical, political, and moral advantages, extent, population, and the variety of its institutions, of no inconsiderable consequence among the sister sections of the Commonwealth. Influenced more by the wish to place on permanent record the relics fast fading from memory, than by the expectation of reputation to be derived from the humble toil of compiling local histories, or the humbler merit of being merely the architects of the materials of others, still less by the hope of great pecuniary reward, but relying on the aid of friends who have kindly rendered effectual assistance, and on the liberal spirit of an enlightened community, the Publishers commenced this Journal. Thus far they have proceeded, until they find that greater sacrifices would be required for the prosecution of the undertaking *than it is possible for them to meet*, without more extensive support than has been received. They are therefore *compelled* to suspend the work, for the present, to await more favourable circumstances for its successful conclusion.

As their motives have been generally understood and duly appreciated, they can feel little personal regret on being forced to relinquish an enterprise, necessarily attended with so much labour, expense and responsibility. It is, however, matter of sorrow that the materials for the completion of the undertaking are fast perishing. Every succeeding year renders its accomplishment more difficult. Many of the most interesting particulars exist only in fleeting traditions, in the memory of the aged and gray haired fathers of our villages, soon to be numbered with the companions of their early years, to carry with them to their graves the rich recollections of the past, there to be irrecoverably lost. Valuable and curious documents are dispersed among the families of actors in remarkable scenes: Much information is scattered through the broken masses of town and church records; but these are almost unintelligible without the communications of the survivors of the events partially described, to furnish the connecting links. The effacing fingers of time are busy on the monuments of our ancestors and the memorials of those who here laid the foundations and raised the solid structures of social virtue, religious and civil liberty, moral improvement, and national prosperity, must pass into forgetfulness unless some vigorous and speedy effort be made to rescue them from oblivion.

Without consuming space in the expression of unavailing regret, the Editors may be permitted to look back, with something of satisfaction, on those portions of the work already accomplished, for the purpose of making their grateful acknowledgments to the writers of the papers communicated through the pages of this work. The general view of the county, the notices of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Sterling, the list of civil officers, and the catalogue of Ministers, were prepared by ISAAC GOODWIN, Esq. The History of Shrewsbury has been furnished by A. H. WARD, Esq.—of Northborough, by the Rev. Mr. ALLEN,—of Leicester, by EMORY WASHBURN, Esq.—of Lancaster, by JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.—of Paxton, by Mr. LIVERMORE—and of West Boylston, by the Rev. Mr. CROSBY. Of the merits of these performances it would not become the Publishers to speak. In the opinion of those possessing too much discernment to be deceived, and too much sincerity to bestow undeserved praise, they have exhibited minuteness of detail, fidelity in research, and historical learning not exceeded by preceding compositions of similar character.

To the Hon. EDWARD D. BANGS, the Publishers have been deeply indebted for the untiring patience and politeness with which he has furnished copies of long documents from the records of his office, or entered into the examination of questions, without any pecuniary compensation.

It has been the earnest wish and constant effort of the Publishers to present to their readers, a work of permanent value, which should not alone furnish amusement to while away the passing hour, but beneficial information for future use. Since the commencement of the second volume, in the pursuit of its primary object, the pages of the Journal have been rigorously devoted to the communication of the mass of historical facts, by the almost entire exclusion of papers of more general interest and miscellaneous character. That which has been recorded, may seem of inconsiderable importance to many of our fellow citizens: but even the trifles of the present age become matters of weight with future generations. The facts of History increase in value as they grow in age: the faithful picture of our own period, reflected from its mirror, will acquire interest as time passes.

Circumstances have induced the Publishers to believe that they have over-rated the present demand for this species of information. They would not therefore contend against public taste. It is better their work should perish by a sudden death than continue through the struggles of protracted dissolution. If the Journal cannot be nourished by the liberality of the public, it must not live as the dependent on stinted charity.

To those who have generously aided by their pens or patronage in the attempt to obtain a full and accurate History of our territory, its population, and resources, the publishers present thanks for their liberality: to those who have looked on their efforts with the surly determination to see faults only they recommend more pleasant employment: to the people of the County, they wish Historians with the same earnest disposition to perpetuate the remembrances of the past and better abilities to execute their purposes than the subscribers.

WILLIAM LINCOLN,
CHRISTOPHER C. BALDWIN.

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

VOL. II. MAY, 1826. NO. 1.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF SHREWSBURY.

BY ANDREW H. WARD, ESQ.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES, LENGTH OF LINES AND THEIR COURSES.

This town is situated E. N. E. from Worcester, 5½ miles from the Court House, and 37 miles from Boston by the way of the old post road. It is a post town, and the tenth in age, twentieth in population, and eighteenth in valuation in the County of Worcester;* and is bounded, beginning at the N. W. corner, on West Boylston, one hundred and two rods, and by Boylston fifteen hundred and seventy rods and an half on the north, ten hundred and seventy two rods by Northborough and seven hundred and seventy rods by Westborough on the east, fourteen hundred and sixty four rods and an half by Grafton on the south, and nineteen hundred and fourteen rods by Worcester on the west.

The township of Shrewsbury was granted to certain persons, Nov. 2, 1717, most of whom belonged to Marlborough, and was originally laid out much larger than it now is. It began to be settled in 1717, by a few people from Marlborough, though not so soon as a few towns in its vicinity: indeed, at that time, people not deeming it a good tract of land, passed through and took up their residence elsewhere. Little other use was made of it, than to pass over it in pursuit of a settlement in some supposed better place, while repeated and destructive fires, set by people in the adjacent towns, had consumed vast tracts of wood and timber, and even the very soil itself, in some places to the hard pan, for many acres.

It is not known that the Indians ever disturbed the settlement of this town; there being no accounts on record, or otherwise, of their having destroyed the lives or property of their more civiliz-

* According to the census of 1820, and its proportion of 75,000 dollars, being the State tax of Feb. 21, 1824.

ed, but encroaching neighbors in this quarter; or that any fear was ever here entertained on account of them. They had some years before, in that retreat, which they have ever since continued, and which has been as rapidly followed by the white men, retired to a distance too great to alarm the first settlers of Shrewsbury. It may seem remarkable, but it is believed, that the name of *Indian* is not to be found on the records of the town.

The town at first contained all the lands lying between the original grant of Lancaster on the north, Marlborough on the east, Sutton on the south, and Worcester on the west. So rapid was the increase of the population, that the inhabitants of the town, in ten years from the commencement of its settlement, presented the following petition to be incorporated into a town.

"To the Hon. William Dummer, Esq. the Lieut. Governor and commander in chief, the Honorable the Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, in General Court assembled, Nov. 22, 1727.

"The petition of the inhabitants of Shrewsbury, in the County of Middlesex, humbly sheweth: that your petitioners were by this Great and Honorable Court erected into a township, and not having granted unto them the immunities and privileges of other towns within this Province, were put under the care of a committee, which committee carried on that work to great satisfaction, but have now declined acting; so that your petitioners are under great difficulties as to paying their Minister and raising the public taxes; and the Province Treasurer has issued forth his warrant directing the assessing of the inhabitants of the town of Shrewsbury their Province tax for this year: And for as much as your petitioners have no Selectmen or Assessors, nor are empowered to choose town officers, whereby many and great inconveniences do arise; therefore, your petitioners most humbly pray your Honors consideration of the premises, and that your Honors would be pleased to empower the town of Shrewsbury to use and exercise the same immunities and privileges as other towns within this Province hold and enjoy, and that a day may be assigned for the choice of town officers for the year current, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

JOHN KEYES,
DANIEL HOWE,
NAHUM WARD,
In behalf of the town.

The foregoing petition having been presented, was acted upon as follows:

"In the House of Representatives, Dec. 14, 1727. Read and ordered, that the prayer of the petition be granted and that the said town of Shrewsbury is accordingly endowed with equal power, privileges, and immunities, with any other town in this Province; and that Capt. John Keyes, a principal inhabitant in the said town, be empowered and directed to notify and summon the inhabitants duly qualified for voters, to meet and assemble for the choosing of town officers, to stand until the next annual election according to law. Sent up for concurrence.

WM. DUDLEY, *Speaker.*

In Council, Dec. 15, 1727, read a first and second time and passed in concurrence. J. WILLARD, *Sec'y.*

Consented to, WM. DUMMER.

The first town meeting held here was on the 29th day of Dec. 1727. Shrewsbury originally included most of what is now Boylston, most of West Boylston, a small portion of Sterling, Westborough and Grafton. In 1741, four petitioners, viz. Ebenezer Cutler, Obediah Newton, Noah Brooks and David Read, with their farms, were taken from the town of Shrewsbury, and annexed to the town of Grafton; in 1752, William Whitney, Zachariah Eager, Jonathan Foster, Zachariah Harvey, Edward Newton, Samuel Newton, Ezekiel Newton and Daniel Wheelock, with others, at their request: and all the lands in the then north part of the town, lying on the north side of Quinepoxet river, and between the towns of Lancaster and Holden, known by the name of the *Leg*, were voted off by the town, and, in 1768, annexed to Lancaster; in 1762, William Nurse and others, living in the southeasterly part of the town, and so much of that part of the town, usually called the *Shoe* (sometimes Nurse's corner) were annexed to Westborough. March 1, 1786, the north part of the town, then constituting the 2d Parish, was incorporated into a town by the name of Boylston: and in March, 1793, Elijah Whitney and his farm were taken from this town and set to Westborough. Having thus been pared and clipped, always giving and eventually receiving nothing, the territory of the town has, since that time, remained entire, yet not without attempts to dismember some part of it.*

In 1795, Silas Keyes, known as a skilful and correct surveyor, with a view, among other things, to ascertain the contents of the

* There has been another amputation since the above was written. Tarrant Merriam, with about 186 acres of land, has been taken from this town and annexed to Grafton.

An error occurred in making the plan of the town of Boylston, when set off from Shrewsbury, and was copied into the Act incorporating that town. The plan commences at Worcester line (West Boylston having since been set off from Boylston) and, after describing two short courses, arrives at the north line of Nathaniel Heywood's farm; then it is marked on the plan east, thirteen and one quarter degrees north, one hundred and seventy eight rods, instead of north, thirteen and one quarter degrees east, one hundred and seventy eight rods, as the line should be; making a difference of twenty six and one half degrees, and, being on a long line and near the beginning of the plan, all the after courses are removed seventy nine rods northward from what was intended—As this error is suffered to continue without any measures being taken to have it corrected, it will not be matter of surprise, if, at some future day, it should give rise to some legal controversy; more particularly, as there are several families now within the limits of Shrewsbury, whom, with their lands, it was intended to have set off with Boylston; who are now taxed and do duty and enjoy previleges there, yet are not within the limits or jurisdiction of that town.

CULTIVATION, &c.—This town presents to the eye an uneven surface, variegated with hills and vallies. A range of high land, extending from north to south, passes through the middle of the town. The numerous swells and tracts of rolling land, which are, most of them, in a good state of cultivation, are to be seen in all directions from the middle of the town and serve to relieve the eye from that sameness, which some towns afford, when taking a landscape view of them. There is more wood, it is generally supposed, growing here now, than there was fifty years ago; it consists of oak of the various kinds, walnut and chesnut on the high grounds; and in the low lands, maple, ash, birch &c. There is but little pine in the town. There are some indications of coal, as far east as the middle of the town, of the same nature as the Worcester coal, but not so near the surface. No minerals are known to exist here, at least not sufficient to induce people to explore by day and watch by night, as they have done in some places, for hidden treasures. Yet, as a great proportion of the inhabitants are farmers, they find their treasure by digging, but not more than *furrow* deep. They have made great improvement in the appearance of their farms, stocks of cattle and swine for a few years past; to which they have been in no small degree excited by the influence of agricultural societies and publications on agricultural subjects. An agricultural

society, composed of individuals associated from the towns of Shrewsbury, Boylston, Northborough and Westborough, was formed here in 1811, and continued its enquiries, experiments and pursuits, not merely to the advantage of those belonging to it, but to others, till some time after the formation of the Worcester Agricultural Society; when its members, dissolving their connexion, most of them became members of that society.

Clay is found here suitable for making bricks, and probably there are considerable beds of it—but at present they are but little explored and little use is made of it. The soil, though naturally rough and hard to subdue, is very strong, and never fails to yield an equivalent to the industrious husbandman for the labor he bestows upon it. A good proportion of the fences are stone walls; which it has been the practice of late to set in trenches, whereby much loam and vegetable earth, sufficient to pay for digging the trench, are procured and carried upon low mowing grounds or into yards for manure. And this, though an ample compensation for the labor it requires, is but a small part of the benefit arising from this practice. The trench furnishes a place of deposit for multitudes of small cobble-stones, troublesome in the field, but here put out of the way, making a sure and stable foundation for the walls, which are never thrown down by the frost. Generally the trench is not dug so wide as it should be; bushes and briars are apt to spring up and flourish by the sides of walls; and though a good husbandman will cut them down, yet they are less likely to grow, and if they do, they are easier removed, root and branch, when the trenches are made several inches wider than the walls stand. It is remarkable to observe here, and it may be seen in many towns in this vicinity, the astonishing difference between the present and former times in making manure. Scarcely a low place can be found by the road side, that is not occupied with compost which with the wash of the road, that incorporates itself with it, is in a year or two carried to the fields and its place supplied with new materials.

But little attention is paid to the cultivation of flax. Grains of all kinds yield abundant crops, while the white honey suckle of the pastures furnishes good keeping for dairy cows and early beef. Plaister of Paris has been used here with success, and though most so on pasture land, yet not without effect on mowings and tillage land. The amount of hay cut in this town is large, and much of it of good quality; it has become a staple article, and is carried to Boston in large quantities, and finds a ready market.

Ponds and Streams.—Though there are no considerable streams in this town, it suffers very little in a dry season. It is supplied with a sufficiency of water, in small rivulets, to answer the common purposes of the inhabitants. The largest stream is that which comes from Sewall's Pond, in the south west part of Boylston, and running southerly about a mile and an half falls into Long Pond, where, and at the head of which, passes the old Post road to Worcester. This pond was called by the natives Quinsigamond Pond, but is now better known by the name of Long Pond; it lies partly in Shrewsbury and whether the residue is in Shrewsbury or Worcester, will probably be a subject of future investigation. Worcester was laid out in 1668, to be bounded Easterly on Quinsigamond Pond, and when Shrewsbury was laid out in 1717, it was bounded by Worcester on the west.

As Keyes' survey does not include all of the Pond in this town (why he departed from the line as originally established between Shrewsbury and Worcester is not known) it would seem, if he is correct, that a part of it belongs (and there are no islands in that part) to neither town. Long Pond extends north and south; and is a very large body of water, nearly in the form of a crescent, and is about four miles in length on the western shore; yet, on a straight line, as measured on the ice, it is but a little more than three miles; its width varies from one hundred rods to three fourths of a mile; it is the largest body of water in the county and deserves rather the name of a Lake, than a Pond. Much of the wood, which formerly grew on either shore, has been cut off, and the view of its waters become more extensive. It is well supplied with the usual kinds of fish, that are to be found in the interior Ponds; and, from the depth, as well as extent of its waters, is a suitable place to try the experiments, said to have been successfully made in England, of propagating in fresh water those noble fish, the cod, mackerel, haddock, and perhaps the halibut! for which, we, as yet, have to depend wholly on the ocean. That such an undertaking would not succeed, we ought not to believe, merely because no one has yet been liberal and patriotic enough to exile some of the finny tribes from their great and briny domain in a living state to this interior sea, this *water* house of correction, if you please, there to be confined to hard labor for life! And which, if it did not improve their *morals*, would at least without the means of doing harm, give them a *fresh* opportunity of improving those talents, which nature has given them; and result beyond all doubt in the multiplication

of their numbers to the great comfort and well being of those of the human family, who live in the vicinity! There is no doubt it would succeed; and if he, who makes two blades of grass grow, where but one grew before, is worth more to mankind, than the whole race of politicians put together, the man, who should effect this, would be held in estimation far exceeding the united regard entertained for all the grass growers in the country. He would, in all probability, live to see the time, when the *consequences* of his benevolent undertaking would be in every man's *mouth*, and every man's *mouth* full of the *consequences*: while thousands, enjoying the sport of taking and feasting on the luxuries of the Pond, would hand down his name to posterity, as that of a public benefactor. Then there would be also the satisfaction, and it would be no small one, of knowing, that while gormandizing, some, even while under the greatest excitement, should they have a disposition to find fault with the times, censure their neighbors, speak evil of their rulers, slander their best friends, or curse their enemies, would have their mouths *stopped* for a while by the bountiful productions of the pond: and even the Legislature have some occasional respites from the anathemas, so generally and plentifully bestowed upon them, for their *over much legislation* on the subject of the preservation of *small fish*, and th ereby *fishing* money from the pockets of their constituents. Instead of so much legislation for the preservation of *small* fish in *small* streams, it would better accord with the spirit of the times, in this age of internal improvement, to encourage by Statute, the *large* fish of the ocean to emigrate to our *large* inland ponds: should they decline emigrating, compulsory process, authorized and encouraged by law, would effect it. The immense advantages that would arise from it, cannot be *foreseen*, if it were only, as farmers say, from the benefit, that might be derived from crossing the breed!

There are several brooks, which empty their waters into this pond. It is clustered with no less than twelve islands of various sizes. The first is Ram Island, at the west end of the Floating Bridge; it contains about two acres, and is mostly covered with wood. Little Pine Island, the second, is one and an half mile down the pond, and is about 40 rods from the western shore; it contains half an acre, principally covered with small pines. The third is three rods south of the last, of one fourth of an acre, covered with fruitful grape vines, and called Grape Island. The fourth is

Grass Island, of one eighth of an acre, mowed sometimes, and is twenty rods from Grape Island, and nearer the middle of the pond. Bowman's Island is the fifth, covered with wood, and lies southeast twelve rods from Grass Island, and contains three acres. The sixth is Bayberry Island, near the west shore, of about two acres. The seventh, is Sherman's Island, of one and a half acre, near the east shore, and covered with wood. Nearly south, and about thirty five rods is the eighth, called Grass Island, of one eighth of an acre and has been mowed. The ninth is called Shoe-make Island of one and an half acre, and is twenty five rods south of Bayberry Island. The tenth is Sharp Pine Island, of half an acre, and twenty five rods south of Shoe-make Island. The eleventh is a small Grass Island, half a mile south of Sharp Pine Island, of one eighth of an acre, and twenty rods from the south west corner of the pond. The twelfth is called Stratton's Island, and contains one hundred and fifty acres, principally under cultivation, and has several families living upon it.

Some of the other Islands are more or less cultivated, and are known by different names.

Some idea of the boldness of the shores, the depth of the water and unevenness of the bottom of the pond, may be formed by viewing the land on its borders and adjacent to it. So large a body of water was not destined to lie always dormant and unimproved. This pond, and the others connected with it, at its south end, unite in one outlet, which, passing in a southeasterly direction, enters the town of Grafton, and becomes a principal tributary to Blackstone River, upon which a Canal is now constructing to Providence. This pond rises and falls, according as there are heavy rains and sudden thaws in the spring, or dry seasons, about two feet; though it has been known to vary considerably more. It was in contemplation many years ago, to construct a Canal from Providence to unite with the waters of this pond, but the death of its principal projector caused it to be abandoned. The subject has been again called up, and the work is progressing and excavations making to carry it into effect; and the time is not far distant, when this body of water will contribute wonderfully to the growth and prosperity of the neighboring villages and towns, and even to the more remote settlements.

Stratton Island is bounded on the west and north by Long Pond, on the east by Round Pond, south by Flint's Pond, and south west

by Half Moon Pond; all of which communicate with each other The communication of the waters on the southwesterly part of the Island, between Half Moon and Flint's pond has been stopped by means of a gravel causeway having been constructed there. The outlet from Long Pond, is into Round Pond, and is at the northeast corner of the Island; it is very narrow, and by means of a short bridge, the Island and the main land are connected. A dam was erected here about four years ago, at a trifling expense with a small flume and gate; by means of which, the water was raised in the pond several feet; yet, on account of its steep banks, it did not overflow so much land as might naturally have been expected. It is now in contemplation by means of a dam at this place, to raise the water still higher, (from four to nine feet,) for the purpose of procuring and retaining a head of water sufficient for the use of mills &c. situated below, and manufacturing establishments about to be erected there.

There is but one other pond in Shrewsbury, and that is called Jordan Pond, lying about midway of the length of Long Pond and about half a mile east of it. Its waters, at some seasons in the year, empty into Long Pond. On the stream that runs from Sewall's Pond into Long Pond, there is a grist mill and a saw mill: there is also a stream on which are two saw mills and a grist mill, that rises in the north west part of the town, and, running southerly, crosses the old post road about a mile east of the head of Long Pond and empties into it about ten rods north of where the Worcester Turnpike crosses the Pond.

Some small brooks, rising in the southerly part of Boylston, and northerly part of Shrewsbury, and running southerly and easterly, form a stream on which there is a saw mill and grist mill; thence running northeasterly passes through the south east corner of Boylston; then it turns southerly, and runs into Northborough and through cold harbour meadows into the river Assabet. A small stream, rising principally from springs a little south of the Congregational Meeting House, and running easterly and then northeasterly, has two grist mills thereon and comes to the side of the post road in the east part of the town, furnishing a convenient watering place for travellers and teamsters: here it is joined by two small rivulets, that come in from the north, when it takes a southeast direction and falls into the Assabet in the southwesterly part of Northborough. Still farther south are springs, that give rise to a stream,

that runs southerly and has a grist mill and saw mill thereon, and continuing in the same direction, takes, with other waters, the name of Bummet Brook, and passes into Grafton; thence by the way of the Blackstone to the sea below Rhode Island.

Most of the waters of this town go that way to the sea, while a small portion, those that fall into the Assabet, go into the Merrimac.

There are in this town six grist mills, and five saw mills; yet, in dry seasons, some of the inhabitants are under the necessity of resorting to the mills in the neighboring towns, principally Boylston and Grafton, for grinding.

Highlands.—The greater part of this town is high land: it consists rather of gradual and large extensive swells, than steep and high hills. There are none of them inaccessible to teams, or in an uncultivated state. Sewall's hill, however, in the northwest part of the town is the most so, and is considerable rocky. The land falls but very little to the north, while to the south, the descent is long and gradual. To the east, there is a descent of more than two miles, extending into Northborough; on the west, the descent is moderate for about half a mile over Rocky Plain, so called, when it becomes more steep, till it reaches the flat land, that extends nearly to the head of Long Pond; beyond which the land immediately rises to a considerable height; from the top of which it is about thirty rods to Worcester line.

One of these swells received from the proprietors, at the first settlement of the town, by way of distinction, the name of Meeting House Hill, and is about half a mile north of where the Congregational Meeting House now stands. About half a mile east of north of this swell is another, called Rawson Hill; while to the southeast, something more than a mile, is another, called Sounding Hill; over the south part of which passes the Worcester Turnpike; from this, a short distance northerly, is another, called Goulding Hill. Besides these, there are several others. The soil of them is excellent and most of them are in a high state of cultivation. Rawson Hill is the highest land in town; being about thirty feet higher than Meeting House Hill, and sixty higher than Mill Stone Hill in Worcester, and as high as the ground on which Princeton Meeting House stands.

Roads, &c.—This town is proverbial for its good roads. Great attention is paid to them. There are two large roads passing

through the town east and west: the north one is the old post road from Boston to Worcester; which, passing through the thickest settled part of the town and over the head of Long Pond, forms a junction with the other, which is the Worcester Turnpike, near the Gaol in Worcester. This road was laid out as a county road, at, or before the settlement of the town, and while it formed a part of the county of Middlesex. It is on the records of that county, but not on the town record, or that of the county of Worcester. It was laid out four rods wide, without any particular bounds or courses, and is 1510 rods in length, in Shrewsbury. The act, chartering the Worcester Turnpike Corporation, was passed June 10th, 1808; and that road soon after made; its length in Shrewsbury is 1350 rods. It runs nearly parallel with the post road, varying from one and an half to two miles from it. It is four rods wide and rather hilly through most of the town. It crosses Long Pond, about two miles south of the head of it, by means of a floating bridge, being the third bridge, that has been thrown over the pond at this place, for the purpose of crossing it. The first was a floating bridge, and cost about $9000. It consisted of two or three tiers of round timbers laid lengthways and then crossways, and then overlaid with a course of hewn timber, covered with plank, and fastened to large abutments at the shores. This bridge soon proved to be weak and unsafe, and after a few years was succeeded by another of the same materials, and cost $13,000. It was constructed by sinking nine piers; the centre one of these was sixty feet by sixty; the others sixty by thirty, placed in a line about thirty feet apart. The piers were constructed separately, and designed to rest on the bottom of the pond: this was done, by laying the course, then lapping and building after the manner of a cob house, and pinning where the timbers lapped and crossed; by building in this manner, as the weight increased, the frames settled and the work continued, till the frame of each pier found a resting place at the bottom, reaching and remaining considerably above the water; towards the top, the piers were connected to each other by timbers, and upon the top even overlaid with them; over the whole was laid a quantity of gravel. But on account of the mud in some places, and gravel in others, at the bottom of the pond, some of the piers continued to settle and others remained stationary. The four eastern piers, as they settled, leaned to the south. It was endeavored to keep the surface level by putting on gravel, which probably hastened its destruction; for, by increasing the incumbent weight, the piers (ma-

ny of their timbers having started from their fastenings) so far lost their perpendicularity, that in the morning of the 19th Sept. 1817, near the time of its completion, and while the workmen were most of them near by, at breakfast, the bridge separated near the center, and the east half turned over into the pond to the south, and the other half, breaking up, tumbled in, pier after pier, in broken masses, towards the middle of the pond. Fortunately, no lives were lost, though some were in imminent danger. As the pond varied from fifty to seventy feet in depth at this place, (and in others was more than one hundred) it had taken no less than fifty four thousand feet of timber to construct this bridge; most of which, upon turning over, separated, and came to the surface in single sticks and large blocks pinned together, presenting such a wreck of materials as perhaps was never seen before on any inland waters in this country. The next winter, the present bridge was built upon the ice at the west side of the Pond, mostly of hewn white pine timber, at an expense of $6,000, and in the spring following swung round to its place; and to this day well answers the purpose for which it was designed; it is five hundred and twenty five feet long and thirty wide.

The Holden and Rutland Turnpike, four rods wide, is 400 rods in length in Shrewsbury, and ends upon entering the old Post road about half a mile east of the head of Long Pond. There is a small piece of County road, three rods wide, and 200 in length, passing in a northeasterly direction from Worcester line, near the Poor house of that town, to Boylston. In the south part of the town, there is a County road three rods wide, and two hundred and fifty in length, leading from the Gore near Worcester, in an easterly direction, and crossing the town road leading to Grafton; on the south of which commences, and runs south, another County road, leading to the middle of the town of Grafton, three rods wide, and one hundred and eighteen in length in Shrewsbury. All the other roads in this town are town roads, and are thirty-seven in number. They were surveyed, their courses taken, and bounds established, the roads numbered and accepted by the town, and recorded at full length on the town records in the year 1805; except the seven last, which have since been laid out, numbered, accepted and recorded in like manner as the first. There are also a few bridle ways. With some trifling alterations, the courses of the roads remain as in 1805.

The width and length of each road and quantity of land occupied by each, is as follows, viz.

	Rods wide.	long.	rods of land.
Post Road,	4	1510	6040
Worcester Turnpike,	4	1350	5400
Holden Turnpike,	4	400	1600
County road to Boylston,	3	200	600
County road from Gore, leading east,	3	250	750
County road leading south to Grafton,	3	118	354
Town road, No. 1	2	747	1494
No. 2	2	1165	2330
No. 3	2	88	176
No. 4	2	322	644
No. 5	2	68	136
No. 6	2	605	1210
No. 7	2	952	1904
No. 8	2	70	140
No. 9	2	653	1306
No. 10	2	244	488
No. 11	2	80	160
No. 12	2½	1206	3050
No. 13	2	442	884
No. 14	2	790	1580
Town Road, No. 15	2	92	184
No. 16	2	151	302
No. 17	2	400	800
No. 18	2	35	70
No. 19	2	791	1582
No. 20	2	222	444
No. 21	2½	621	1552
No. 22	2	408	816
No. 23	2	132	264
No. 24	2	38	76
No. 25	2	503	1006
No. 26	2	520	1040
No. 27	2	311	622
No. 28	2	63	126
No. 29	2	356	712
No. 30	2	545	1090
No. 31	2	185	370
No. 32	2	42½	85
No. 33	1 13½	15	22
No. 34	2	42	84
No. 35	*dis'd*		
No. 36	2	161½	323
No. 37	2	62	124

Making fifty three miles of road, occupying two hundred and sixty two acres of land.

The whole contents of the town amount to fourteen thousand and sixty acres, of which seven hundred and ninety eight are water. The burying ground contains two acres and sixty one rods, and the common around the Congregational Meeting House, four acres and one hundred and twenty seven rods of land.

The town is divided into eleven highway districts, and the usual grant for the repair of its roads $800, annually, which is paid in labor by those on whom it is assessed.

The amount of the travel on the old post road and Worcester Turnpike, is very great. The Post Office is kept on the first in the middle of the town, where the mail from Boston is opened every day (except Sundays) as is also the mail from the west. Four Stages pass on the old road every day, (Sundays excepted) and five each day on the Turnpike. The great southern mail from Boston to New York, is carried in the stage on the Turnpike, and passes every day, as does the return mail from the south, to Boston. They generally pass each other about 6 P. M. within the limits of this town. There is considerable and increasing travel from the northward, directly through the middle of the town to Providence.

Ecclesiastical.—This town contains three religious societies, one Congregational, one Baptist, and one Restoration Society; each having a Meeting House. The first was the only religious society in the town, until within a few years past.

The precise time, when the first Meeting House was built, cannot be ascertained; but from what can be gathered from the proprietor's records, it was in the latter part of 1721 and in 1722. Oct. 27, 1719, the proprietors of the township of Shrewsbury "voted that the place for the Meeting House be on Rocky Plain, near the pines (there were several large pines within the recollection of some of the inhabitants now living, standing a little back of where the Congregational Meeting House now stands) and that, in case the land agreed upon for a Meeting House could not be procured upon reasonable terms, then, the Meeting House be set on the hill northward therefrom, called Meeting House hill;* and that the Meeting House be forty feet in length, thirty two in breadth, and fourteen feet stud." In April after, a committee was chosen "to manage about the Meeting House;" and in May succeeding, the votes passed on the 27th Oct. 1719, respecting the Meeting House, were confirmed by the proprietors, and measures taken to have two Saw Mills built in the town, to be put in operation by the first of May, 1721. On the 22d of June following, they "voted two hundred and ten pounds for, and towards building a Meeting House, it being five pounds on each proprietor;" and "chose a committee to address the Rev. Mr. Breck, of Marlborough, in behalf of the proprietors of Shrewsbury, praying his notes of a sermon preached by himself in said town at a lecture, on the 15th of June, 1720, in order to have the same sermon printed at the expense of the proprietors." This was the first sermon preached in Shrewsbury; it was printed, and if a copy could be found, it would be worth while to preserve it. At their last mentioned meeting, the proprietors empowered a committee to contract with some person to build, and finish a Meeting House. These meetings of the proprietors were all held at the house of the widow Elizabeth Howe, in Marlborough.

In November, 1722, on application to John Houghton Esq. of Lancaster, he issued a warrant calling a meeting of the Proprietors, to be held, on the twenty eighth of that month, at the Meeting-house, "to consider and conclude of all, or any thing or things proper

* The land was afterwards procured of William Taylor, one of the Proprietors, who exchanged acre for acre (the whole quantity, ten acres) and took swamp land in the Gulf, so called, for his pay.

and necessary to be done for the procuring of a Minister, &c." and, as that appears to be the first time the Meeting House was occupied for any public use, it is presumed, that it had not then long been finished. It was located about eight rods to the north east of where the present Congregational Meeting House now stands. That house, after a lapse of forty years, being unsuitable to accommodate the inhabitants, the Parish voted in October, 1764, to build a new Meeting House, which is the present one. It is sixty feet long, forty five wide, with twenty seven feet posts, and a porch at each of the three outer doors. In 1807, a bellfry, with a steeple, was annexed to the west end of the Meeting House, and in 1808, a bell placed therein, both at the expense of certain individuals of the town.

At a meeting of the proprietors by adjournment, April 17, 1723, it was "voted, to nominate two or three Ministers to a settlement." Mr. Cushing, Mr. Barret and Mr. Bailey, were nominated; and there appeared 18 for the first, 16 for the second, and 4 for the third. On the 15th of May following, they chose Mr. Cushing to be their Minister by a full vote, and gave him £60 settlement, and £60 salary per year, for the two first years, then to rise 4 pounds a year, until it should amount to £80. The church was first gathered here on the 4th day of December, 1723, and he ordained on the same day. He continued here in the ministry nearly thirty seven years, and was suddenly taken away by a fit of the apoplexy, August 6, 1760, in the 67th year of his age. During his ministry, the north part of the town, after several unsuccessful attempts, sometimes to be set off as a separate town, and at others, as a Parish, was set off and incorporated as a distinct Parish, Dec. 17, 1742; not on account of any dissatisfaction of his parishioners towards him, for he lived and died in peace with his people; but on account of the increasing number, and remote situation in which many of them in that part of the town lived from the Meeting House.

February 2, 1761, the Parish concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. Joshua Paine, to become their Pastor; and voted him £66 13 shillings, as an annual salary, during the time he should continue to preach the Gospel in this place; and £200 settlement. Mr. Paine declined the invitation. After hearing several candidates, the Parish voted, Dec. 30, 1761, "to hear Mr. Joseph Sumner (of Pomfret, Conn.) if he might be had;" and on the 30th of March, 1762, the Parish concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. Sumner, to be their Pastor; and voted

him the same settlement as to Mr. Paine, and sixty six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, lawful money, annually, as a salary. Having accepted the call, he was ordained on the 23d day of June, 1762, at the age of twenty three.

The Meeting House being small, and unsafe for so large a collection of people, as assembled, the ordination solemnities were held out of doors, on a platform erected in front of the Meeting House, and the day observed by the Parish with fasting and prayer, in conformity with a vote of the church, in which the Parish concurred; "to observe said day, as a day of fasting and prayer, as being most agreeable to the Scripture rule of ordaining, as said church apprehends." After Mr. Sumner's acceptance, and before his ordination, the Parish increased his salary to £72 or $240 per annum, to take effect in ten years after his settlement. This additional grant, occasioning uneasiness in the minds of some, was relinquished by him in writing on the 12th of March, 1763, for peace sake; he at the same time informing his parishioners, that he "relied on their generosity for the future, if he should stand in need of further help, that they would be as ready to afford it, as he should be to ask it of them." Thus early in his life was manifested to our Fathers, what was exhibited to their posterity, a disposition to live peaceably with all men; and which so much distinguished, through a long life, this late venerable man of God.

Several grants were made to the Rev. Mr. Sumner, in the earlier part of his ministry, in addition to his stated salary. In 1809, his salary was raised to $286 67 per annum, and so remained till June, 1820; when, by reason of the infirmities of age, and the prospect of having a colleague, Samuel B. Ingersoll, settled with him in the ministry, and on whom would devolve the more arduous labors and active duties, he, voluntarily, and in writing, relinquished, from and after the settlement of Mr. Ingersoll, all his salary, except $142 per year, which he continued to receive till the time of his death, which happened Dec. 9, 1824, in the 63d year of his ministry, and 85th year of his age. Notwithstanding his salary was small, he was enabled by prudence and economy to leave, after having brought up a large family of children, a handsome property, mostly in real estate.* In 1814, he received the honora-

* Dr. Sumner was no less remarkable for his affability and social qualities through life, than for his sound sense and dignified deportment. He never seemed to be taken by surprize; he always had a ready answer; his cheerful manner of giving it, and its peculiar fitness astonished as well as delighted those who heard him. He was a member of an ordaining Council at Prince-

ry degree of D. D. from Harvard University, and about the same time a similar honor was conferred upon him by Columbia College, in South Carolina; an honor, the bestowment of which, while it reflected increasing honor on those Institutions, not in the least excited his vanity or inflated his pride—honors, which brightened as he wore them, and proved how judiciously they were conferred, where the subject was so worthy of them. On the 23d of June, 1812, he preached his half century sermon, which has gone through two editions and contains much valuable information. At the time of his death, there was not an individual in town, who was a member of the church at his ordination; and all but one, who were then in town, and qualified by age to invite him to settle in the ministry, had passed off the stage to their long home. This was to him a painful recollection; having many years previous, been deprived of the partner of his youth, and all the members composing the church, when he was wedded to it; and all but one of those, who had invited him to take the oversight of them in the Lord, whose kindness to him he held in grateful remembrance to the last; and having also buried two colleagues, he could not but feel solitary: he was a widower, indeed!

During the Revolutionary struggle between the Colonies and the parent country, Dr. Sumner took an open and decisive part; he was always no less the friend of political, than religious freedom; while the privations, which he endured on account of the deranged state of the then public affairs, with a degree of patience and equanimity, rarely if ever equalled, furnished ample proofs of his sin-

ton some years since, and the subject of salaries having been introduced, and by some complained of, as being too low—and when it was ascertained that his was the lowest salary enjoyed by any of the Clergymen present, and with which he seemed to be entirely satisfied, one of them, in the presence and hearing of the others, enquired of him, "how he could make out to live upon it?" The Doctor replied, "Oh! they that have much, have not enough, and they that have little, have no lack!"

At a dinner party in Worcester, in the latter part of his life, of a number of gentlemen of the Bar, and some others, among whom was the late Francis Blake, then Clerk of the Courts, Dr. Sumner was present, on the invitation of the Sheriff. After dinner, he thought it prudent, at his advanced period of life, to retire early from the table and prepare for home. This early withdrawal was noticed by Mr. Blake, and he publicly expressed to Dr. Sumner his regret on account of it; the Doctor observed, while putting on his coat, that "it is time old folks were at home"—upon which Mr. Blake said to him, "Dr. Sumner, I hope you do not mean, because you are going, it is time for us *all* to go?" "Oh no," replied the Doctor, in a pleasant manner, and turning round towards the company, just as he was going out at the door, "you may stay as much *longer* as you are *younger!*" Mr. Blake was afterwards often heard to speak with admiration of this reply.

cerity in the American cause, as well as his confidence in its final triumph. He omitted no reasonable opportunity, either in public discourses, or private interviews, to animate his townsmen to renewed exertions in the cause of freedom and the rights of man. "His constitution was naturally vigorous; through life he was blessed with good health; his punctuality in all his engagements was remarkable, and he was ever prompt to the call of duty. During the period of 62 years, he was *never* absent from the stated communion of his church," and during 57 years of his ministry, "the public exercises of the Sabbath in this place were suspended only *seven* Sundays, on account of his indisposition, or in consequence of his journeying." The sick were sure to find him early at their bedside, tenderly and with a fatherly anxiety to enquire after their situation, and to minister to their spiritual wants; and when sickness was followed by death, his feelings were touched, his sympathies mingled with the grief of the bereaved, and he was among them, and mourner among mourners. The deep yet lively interest he took in the education of children, the punctuality with which he visited and inspected the town schools, the cheerfulness with which he did it, even when past the age of 80, the good impressions made on the minds of the youth by his seasonable remarks and appropriate prayers, will long be remembered. It was a maxim with him, when duty called, never, if I may so express it, to suffer himself to excuse himself. During his ministry, the rite of baptism was administered to 1251 individuals of his society, and 367 persons were admitted into his church: he solemnized 488 marriages, assisted in the ordination of 53 Clergymen, and was a member of 33 mutual and exparte Councils. He preached three funeral sermons at the interments of three Pastors of the church in Rutland: viz. Messrs. Buckminster, Goodrich and Foster, and was moderator of three ordaining Councils in that town, viz: at the ordination of the two last named gentlemen, and that of the Rev. Mr. Clark. It was his request, expressed some years previous to his disease, that, should the Rev. Dr. Bancroft survive him, he might preach his funeral sermon; the event so happened; and his request was complied with, and on the 12th Dec. 1824, all that was mortal of this worthy man, was committed to the tomb.

Mr. Samuel B. Ingersoll, of Beverly, commenced preaching here, Sept. 27, 1819, in aid of the Rev. Dr. Sumner; and on the 14th of May, 1820, the church having made choice of him, on their part, to become the Colleague Pastor, with the Rev. Dr. Sumner, the

town concurred therein; and on the 14th of June following, he was publicly ordained to that office with a salary of $650 a year, payments to be made quarterly; he reserving to himself two Sabbaths in the spring and two in autumn of each and every year. He preached here the *first* Sabbath after his ordination for the *last* time. His health, when he was settled, was feeble; sickness arrested him, and he with his wife, whom he had married but a few months before, went to Beverly for the recovery of his health, where he died, Nov. 14, 1820, five months after his ordination, at the age of thirty three.

Thus far, since the year 1786, the parochial business had been done in the name of the town. A large number having withdrawn from this religious society, in 1820, and established another for public worship in the south part of the town, it was deemed expedient to revive the parish, the business of which had been merged in that of the town thirty four years, and have its concerns transacted in its own name. Accordingly, it was regularly re-organized on the 26th day of March, 1821, and the necessary parish officers chosen: since which, it has continued its operations as a distinct body in its own name.

June 25th, 1821, the church unanimously made choice (and on the 26th of July following, the parish unanimously concurred therein) of the Rev. Edwards Whipple, late the settled minister of the Congregational church and society in Charlton, to become their pastor as colleague with the Rev. Dr. Sumner. Sept. 26, 1821, he was regularly installed with a salary of $550 per year to be paid him annually.

His manners were agreeable and his talents of the first order; but while his parishioners were congratulating one another on the happy re-settlement of a colleague pastor, he was suddenly snatched from them on the 17th of Sept. 1822, having been sick but a few days with a fever, at the age of 44; in the vigor of manhood and not a week before, the picture of health, with a fair prospect of living many years to enjoy it. This sudden and so unexpected, as well as repeated disappointment, as may well be expected, threw a gloom over the parish, the recollection of which will not soon be forgotten.

Mr. Ingersoll preached *one* Sabbath, and Mr. Whipple failed *one* of co[illegible]ting a year. Thus while the united labors of Dr. Sumner's [illegible] colleagues just completed a full *year*, his, united to Mr. Cushing's completed a *century*.

August 18, 1823, the parish concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. George Allen to become colleague pastor with the Rev. Dr. Sumner. He was ordained Nov. 19th, 1823; having a settlement of $300, and a salary of $550 per annum, for two years, and after that, $600 annually: he is their present pastor.

In 1791, the proceeds of the sale of certain pews, made by cutting up the body seats in the Meeting House, were appropriated by the town "to begin a fund for the support of a Congregational Minister in the town forever:" in addition to which, the town, in 1799, granted certain other monies and public securities belonging to the town, amounting in all to $1920, to the use aforesaid; "the interest of which to be added to the principal, until the interest together with the interest of such sums, as have, or may become a part of said fund, shall be sufficient to support a Congregational Minister in said town." Feb. 18, 1801, nine gentlemen of the town were incorporated by the General Court into a body politic by the name of "the Trustees of the Fund appropriated to the support of a Minister of the Congregational denomination in the town of Shrewsbury," with power to fill vacancies and hold personal or real estate to the use aforesaid, "provided, that the same fund shall never exceed the sum of eight thousand dollars in the whole;" and they "not in any case to lessen or make use of any part of the principal." The interest of this fund, under the existing limitation of its principal, can never be sufficient for the purpose intended. The Rev Mr. Allen's salary exceeds by $120, the interest of eight thousand dollars. In April after the act of incorporation, the sums subscribed and paid into the fund by certain individuals of the town, amounted to about $2500; since which time, additions have been made to it by donations and otherwise; and the principal is now about $5600. Most of the interest was appropriated for the support of the ministry, till 1820; since then, the interest has not been sufficient for that purpose; the residue is made up by a tax regularly assessed on the parish.

The Baptist society in this town is small, compared with either of the others. It is composed of members from this and some of the neighboring towns, but has never been incorporated. It was formed in 1812, and their Meeting House built in 1813; it is 25 feet by 32, with 12 feet posts, and cost not far from $4[illegible] was, at its formation, styled the Shrewsbury and Boylston Bap[illegible]ciety, and the number of church members was then thirty th[illegible] two years since, a Baptist Society was formed in Boylston, and most of

those from that town, who usually had worshipped here, joined themselves to that society, since which, this has been styled the Baptist Society in Shrewsbury. The number of members connected with this church in 1825, whose relations had not been removed, was 74. Mr. Elias McGregory was their first settled minister; he was ordained 17th June, 1818, and received by contribution about $200 per annum; he was dismissed at his own request, in May, 1821, but with great reluctance on the part of the society. After this, several gentlemen officiated here on the Sabbath; among whom was Mr. Samuel W. Vilas; he preached to them nearly a year, and was about to be settled over them, when he sickened and died, July 15, 1823, in the 33d year of his age. He was esteemed and beloved by those who knew him, and his premature death disappointed the expectations of many. This society has not at present any ordained minister; Mr. Henry Archibald preaches to them about half of the time with a compensation, at the rate of $250 a year.

The Restoration Society was formed April 11, 1820; its present number of male members is about 170, of whom 104 belong to this town, as appears by certificates filed in the Town Clerks office. It was incorporated, April 26, 1824, under a law of this Commonwealth, by the name of the "First Restoration Society in Shrewsbury." Their Meeting House was finished and dedicated, May 29, 1823, and is 41 by 42 feet. It is in the modern style, with a projection of 11 feet by 28, through which, by a door at either end admittance is gained into the house. The projection, on which is a steeple, fronts the Turnpike road; on the south side of which the house is situated. It is about a mile and an half South of the Congregational Meeting House. The Meeting House is painted within and without, and having a pleasant location, makes a handsome appearance. It is furnished with a large well toned organ, an elegant piece of workmanship, made by a self taught and very ingenious young man of this town; and which is used on days of public worship. The house cost about $3000. An acre of land, for the accommodation of the house and other purposes, was given to the Society by one of its individuals.

The Rev. Jacob Wood was installed over the church and Society, on the day of the dedication of the house, and has a salary of $468 per annum, raised, till Nov. 1825, by voluntary subscription, but now by legal taxation—six houses for public worship are now standing on the original grant of Shrewsbury.

Schools.—The grants for the support of schools have been $700 annually; for several years past, but are now $720; $200 for Mistress' schools, $430 for Masters' do. and $90 for fuel. The town is divided into seven school districts, each having a school house, but all of them owned by the town. The inhabitants are not confined to their respective districts, but may send their children and youth under their care, to either of the schools, as it may best accommodate them. The School houses and districts are distinguished by numbers; and the amount of money granted each year is annually apportioned among them according to the following rule adopted in 1814, and founded partly on the amount of the valuation, and partly on the number of scholars in each district.

No. 1 draws	16¾ per cent	No. 5 draws	12 per cent
No. 2	15¾ do.	No. 6	11¼ do.
No. 3	17 do.	No. 7	14½ do.
No. 4	12¾ do.		

The number of scholars that attended during the winter season of 1825—6, is about 500.

Poor, &c.—The town has two or three times had under consideration the subject of procuring a farm, whereon to support its paupers. It never had an establishment of this kind, and does not yet deem it expedient to purchase one. The number of paupers supported, some wholly, and others partially, by the town, for five years past, was from 18 to 32 per year; and their annual average expense to the town, $650.* They are vendued, sometimes individually, and at others collectively, to the lowest bidder, for one year, commencing on the first of April. It is supposed, that when the paupers of a town are vendued, they are not supported in so economical a manner as might be adopted; nor in one, that tends so much to their comfort as would be desirable. The practice of venduing them to the lowest bidder is one, the long usage of which, in many places, has obliterated that nice sense of feeling, which makes man shudder at the thought of being instrumental in the sale of his fellow man; a practice, that places this unfortunate class of people, many of whom have become so by unforeseen circumstances, and consequently without any fault of theirs, in a condition to be sold like slaves. We exclaim against the inhuman practice of sel-

* The number of paupers supported wholly or partially by the town was in

1821	19	expense to the town,	$675,56
1822	18	do.	549,36
1823	19	do.	527,57
1824	25	do.	696,11
1825	32	do.	961,00

ling Africans and negroes; it is honorable to us to do so; it is an odious traffic; and is not the selling of paupers an odious practice? It has been so long and so generally practised in this part of the country, that for an individual to attempt to remedy it, is for him to set himself against thousands; yet it is a consolation to know, that many, even a great many, who acquiesce in this practice, do it with great reluctance, and would be glad, from feelings of humanity, to have it discontinued.

It is true, the *body* of the slave is sold for the labor it can perform, while it is the *support* of the pauper, that is put up at auction: but the case is not materially different. Their situation is not so unlike, as it is thought and intended to be; the support of the slave is incidental to the purchase of his body, while the body of the pauper is incidental to the sale of his support; the latter has a master no less than the former, who derives to his benefit what can be obtained from his servant's labor; and as it is natural for a man to make the most he can of a contract, the pauper often has a hard master, as well as the slave; for while the one is accustomed to hard labor, and often beaten with stripes, the other, too frequently, suffers the want of a sufficient support, as well as kind treatment. In some respects, the situation of the slave is preferable; his feelings are respected by selling him to the highest bidder, while the feelings of the pauper are mortified by his being sold to the lowest; and while the one is not sold, perhaps, but once in his life, the other is publicly exposed to sale annually. The mark of degradation is annually stamped upon him, as if to remind him of his dependence on his fellow men. At the same time he is subjected every year to the liability of having a new master; nor is this all: the slave has not, while the pauper has, the benefit of a tolerable education; has lived and associated with civilized people, and is possessed of feelings, that have thereby become refined; it generally so happens, if not out of regard to his feelings, and those of relatives and acquaintance, that the slave, though uncivilized, is sold among strangers, himself a stranger in a strange land; while the pauper, civilized and of refined feelings, is made by his countrymen to endure the grievious mortification of being publicly sold in his own town, and perhaps, to one, never his friend; and of being looked down upon in this humiliating situation, caused perhaps by sickness or misfortune beyond his control, by many, who once looked up to him, and of seeing himself neglected, if not despised by others, who, in his better days, had been wont to take him by

the hand. Independent of the better treatment the poor would receive, every town would find it for its interest to have a poorhouse, either by itself, or by uniting with an adjoining town, to have one for the common purposes of both.

Pounds.—There have been four Pounds built at the expense of the town; the two first of wood, and the two last of stone. The first was erected in 1723, and stood near the brook, by the old Post road, at the west end of Mr. Samuel Bullard's apple orchard, three quarters of a mile east of the Congregational Meeting House; the travelled way, notwithstanding the road was laid where it now is, was then between his house and the brook, and came into the road about half a mile east, and about a quarter of a mile west of his house, and opposite where Capt. Keyes' houses were burnt, in 1723, (of which more hereafter) and continuing west, it left the road to the north, and, passing south of where Henry Baldwin's house now stands, came into the road again more than a mile further west, on the top of Daniel Maynard's hill, so called. The second Pound was built in 1746, and stood on the same road, half a mile further west, partly on ground now occupied by a Blacksmith's shop. The third was built in 1764, on the same spot; and the fourth, in 1799, and stands on the common, a little distance north west from the Congregational Meeting House.

Fires.—There have been nine dwelling houses, two barns, one school house, and one saw mill burnt in this town. The first was Gershom Wheelock's house, which stood on the old Post road, not far distant from where Mr. Joseph Nurse now lives. No record of any thing relating to this event has been found, by which the precise time when it happened is known. As aged people say, this was the first house burnt in Shrewsbury; it must have been prior to the 7th of August, 1723; since which, no house has been erected on that spot. Mr. Wheelock soon after purchased the house lot No. 23, where his grandson, Deacon Gershom Wheelock, now lives; who has in his possession some small articles of furniture that were saved from the fire. The place where he now lives, descended from father to son and grandson, and has been in their united possession nearly one hundred years. The house he [illegible] was the first house built in Shrewsbury. Gershom Wheelock, who built it, came here from Marlborough, and was the first man who commenced work in this town.

The next fire was the most remarkable, as well as the most sorrowful occurrence that ever took place in this part of the coun-

try; and, as the town was then in its infancy, was peculiarly shocking. It is related in Whitney's history of the County of Worcester; Whitney says, he gives it in the words of the account published in the only newspaper, as he was told, then printed in New England, if not on this side of Philadelphia. It was a small half sheet, printed by B. Green, and is as follows:

"Boston, August 15, 1723.

"An exact account of the awful burning of Capt. John Keyes' house, with five persons in it, at Shrewsbury, in the night between the 7th and 8th of this inst. taken from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Breck, of Marlborough, and from the mouth of Mr. Ebenezer Bragg,* of the same, formerly of Ipswich, the only person of those, who lodged in the house, who, by a distinguishing providence, escaped the flames.

"Capt. Keyes was building an house about nine or ten feet off his old one. It was almost finished; and Mr. Bragg aforesaid, the carpenter, with his brother Abiel, of 17 years of age, and William Oaks, of 18, his apprentices, were working about it. Capt. Keyes, with his wife and four daughters, lodged in the old one; and the three carpenters, with the three sons of the Captain, viz. Solomon, of 20, John, of 13, and Stephen, of 6 years of age, laying in the new. On Wednesday night, going to bed, they took a more than ordinary care of the fire, being excited thereto, by the saying of one, *he would not have the house burnt for an hundred pounds;* and the reply of another, *he would not for two hundred;* upon which, they carefully raked away the chips lying near it, and stayed till the rest were almost burnt out; and then they went all six together into three beds in one of the chambers; and were very cheerly and merry at their going to bed, which was about ten of the clock. But, about midnight, Mr. Bragg was awakened with a notion of the house being on fire, and a multitude calling to quench it; with which he got up, saw nothing, heard no voice, but could hardly fetch any breath through the stifling smoke; concluded the house was on fire, perceived somebody stirring, against whom he hit two or three times in the dark, and not being able to speak, or breathe any longer, and striking his forehead against the chimney, he thought of the window, and happily found it: when he gained it, he tarried a minute, holding it fast with one hand, and reaching out the other, in hopes of meeting with some one or other to save them, till the smoke and fire came so thick and scorching upon him, he

* Father of the late Deacon John Bragg, of this town.

could endure it no longer. And hearing no noise in the chamber, only as he thought, a faint groan or two, he was forced to jump out, and, the window being small, head foremost; though he supposes, by God's good providence, he turned before he came to the ground.

"As Mr. Bragg was just got up again, Capt. Keyes, being awaked in the old house, was coming to this side of the new, and met him. But the flame immediately burst out of the windows, and the house was quickly all on a light flame. No noise was heard of the other five who perished; and it is very questionable, whether more than one of them moved out of their beds. The old house was also burnt, and almost every thing in it; but the people were saved through the great goodness of God. But a most dreadful sight it was, in the morning, to see the five bodies frying in the fire, among the timbers fallen down in the cellar, till towards the evening; when the few almost consumed fragments, without heads or limbs, were gathered, put into one coffin and buried. Psalm, lxvi. 3. *Say unto God, how terrible art thou in thy works!* James, iv. 15. *Ye know not what shall be on the morrow!* Luke, xii. 40. *Be ye therefore ready!*"—Thus far the Newspaper.

The Capt. Keyes abovenamed was afterwards the well known and much esteemed Major John Keyes, Esq. who died in this town, March 3, 1768, at the advanced age of 94. He left a widow, who lived to be 96 years old, and they lived in the married state 72 years. The houses which were burnt, stood on the north side of the old Post road, a little more than half a mile east of where the Congregational Meeting House now stands. On these spots, and near them, several large and handsome buildings have been erected.

About the year 1750, Jonathan Morse's house was burnt. It was a large two story house, and stood a little south of where the Worcester Turnpike now passes; on the same spot a house was erected by Mr. Southgate a few years since. The next was Joseph Sherman's house; it was burnt about the year 1771, and stood where Capt. Martin Newton's house now is. In August, 1774, George Brown's house was burnt, in the night time—another, still standing, but much decayed, was soon erected upon the same spot. In 1776, the two-story dwelling house of Capt. Thomas Knowlton was burnt: he built another on the same ground, and is the same in which he now lives. A large two-story house, belonging to Deacon Benjamin Goddard, was burnt in Feb. 1799, in the day time, with most of its contents, another was very soon after built on the same spot, in which he now lives, at an advanced age. A two-sto-

ry house, belonging to Thomas W. Ward, Esq. and in the occupation of John Sherman, was burnt in the night time, Jan. 1816, and stood where Mr. Daniel Stone now lives.

In 1797, a school house, standing in the fork of the roads, opposite the house of Mr. Calvin R. Stone, was burnt, with many school books therein. A barn, many years since, belonging to Alpheus Pratt, and, two or three years ago, one belonging to Amasa Knowlton, were destroyed by fire; as was a saw mill, in February last, belonging to Samuel Goddard.

In no one of these calamities were any lives lost, except at the burning of Capt. Keyes' houses. The number of barns burnt have been few, compared with the number of houses; and what is remarkable, no building has ever been burnt by lightning in this town since its settlement.

A small house, near the foot of the hill, west of Rocky plain, on the Post road, suddenly *disappeared* in the night time, about three years since. Report says, it was not a house of the *best fame*; and, as it was occupied by *witches*, and frequented by *wizzards*, it occasioned but little surprise; though it was followed by an explosion that was heard at a considerable distance. From the best accounts, it is supposed, that, some how or other, in the absence of the occupants, fire and powder came in contact—the natural consequence followed—*report* immediately proclaimed the consequences —from curiosity, as well as a due regard to the observance of the laws, an attempt was made to search out the person or persons, who had, to say the least, been so careless as to leave a quantity of powder there: it was at last concluded that it belonged to *nobody*, and, as is generally the case, whatever else of a mischievous nature was done, *nobody* did it!

In 1818, a subscription paper was circulated in this town, for the purpose of procuring means to purchase two fire Engines; they were built here, and procured, one at the expense of $120, the other at $130, and placed in houses provided for them at $31 each. Through the favor of Providence there has been no necessity of using them.

The laudable zeal manifested by the proprietors in guarding against fire, exceeded their judgment in purchasing these engines: the amount of money extinguished in this concern was $315.

Revolution.—This town early manifested a determination to oppose the measures of the British Parliament, relative to taxation in America—the first public expression of its opinion was at a town

meeting held in May, 1770; when a vote of thanks was passed "to the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, for the noble and generous stand they had made in the defence of the people's rights;" and in May, 1772, it instructed its Representative "by no means, *directly* or *indirectly*, to give up any constitutional right, nor to ask for a removal of the General Assembly, to its ancient and legal seat, in such manner, as to give up the *claim* the House of Representatives have heretofore so justly set up." In January, 1773, the town voted, "that, viewing themselves as subjects, they had an undeniable right to life, liberty, and property; and that the several acts of Parliament and Administration are subversive of those rights."

January, 1774, the town "voted, that we will totally lay aside the use of all Teas on which a duty is payable, or hath been paid by virtue of any Act of the British Parliament—that we will be ever ready to do all in our power to preserve our just rights and privileges—and will view, as an enemy to the continent, any one, who shall appear to be instrumental in carrying said Act of Parliament into execution"—and that the town of Boston be furnished with a copy of the proceedings of this meeting.

In August, 1774, they voted, "that, if the Courts to be holden at Worcester, for the County of Worcester, for the future, be, in consequence of the late Parliamentary Acts, or any new appointments by our Governor, authorized by said Acts, that the town would resist, and not suffer said Courts to do business. In September after, the town directed its Constables not to serve the venires issued by the Court to be holden at Worcester; and "voted to indemnify them for neglecting to serve the illegal and unprecedented venire lately sent to the town." They also "voted to procure an iron Field piece, and ammunition for the same, at the expense, and for the use of the town," which was soon after done—two Delegates were at the same time chosen to represent the town in a General Provincial Congress, to be holden at Concord, the October following. In December after, they chose a Delegate to attend a like Congress, "to be holden at Watertown, or elsewhere, in February or sooner, if need be, and to continue to the Tuesday proceeding the last Wednesday in May succeeding, and no longer"—at the same time, the town adopted unanimously the association of the Continental Congress, and the addition thereto of the Provincial Congress; and "voted to carry them into execution with the *utmost vigor*"—they also prohibited the Collectors from paying any

money in their hands to Harrison Gray, Esq. the Province Treasurer, but directed them to pay the same to Henry Gardner, Esq. of Stow; and voted to indemnify them for so doing.

In May, 1775, "voted that each parish raise as many men, as possible, to hold themselves in readiness to reinforce our army, near Boston, if needed, with such officers, as they should think proper;" they also chose a committee to examine the Rev. Ebenezer Morse, Messrs. William Crawford, Jotham Bush, Benjamin Fish and Timothy Ross, suspected of toryism. The committee attended to their duty and reported, "that the Rev. Mr. Morse was not so friendly to the common cause, as the committee could wish; and that in some instances he had been *unfriendly*; that William Crawford was *wholly* unfriendly, and inclined to take up arms in defence of the King and Parliament; and that they had admitted the three others suspected, to sign the association, and recommended to the town to receive them, upon their faithfully promising to do their full proportion of duty in resisting and repelling the Kings' troops, &c. The committee of correspondence was then directed, by the town to take from said Morse, his arms, ammunition and warlike implements, of all kinds, to be kept by the Committee; and he *forbidden* to pass over the lines of the second precinct in Shrewsbury on *any occasion whatever*, without a permit from said committee. The like proceedings were had as to Crawford, except he was not to go beyond the limits of his farm, until the town should see fit to liberate him. The acknowledgment of the other three was accepted, and they, by a vote, were received again into favor. In May, 1776, the town voted unanimously in favor of becoming independent of Great Britain, if the Continental Congress should declare the same. In 1777, the persons, before named, suspected of toryism, were, together with Lewis Allen,* declared, by a vote of the town, to be

* Lewis Allen was at this time a young man; he came here with his father, Lewis Allen, from Boston, when a child; his father, an old sea Captain, had many of those peculiarities observable in those, who have long followed the seas—he lived where Col. Joseph Henshaw afterwards lived and died—many anecdotes are related of him; of which the following is one—he went down to the then Baldwin tavern, where Mr. Bullard now lives, taking with him his little son Lewis, and his black man, *Boston*. Caleb, an older brother of Lewis, was left at home: Lewis, while at Baldwin's, clambered up upon a pair of "cheese tongs" that stood by the well curb, and fell into the well: Captain Allen and others were standing by and the boy was taken out unhurt—Captain Allen had no sooner recovered from his fright, than he exclaimed, "Boston! run—run home—and see if *Caleb* is not in *our well!!* for I never knew Lewis do a d—d trick, but what Caleb immediately did another just like it!" Boston ran, as commanded—but, on reaching home,

inimical to the United States, and dangerous persons to reside within this State; and a committee was chosen to proceed against each and all of them at the next court of General Sessions of the Peace.

The resolute and daring spirit manifested by the town, thus early, to contend with unequal force, and where nothing but the justice of the cause could lay a foundation for hope of success, did not terminate in *votes* and paper *resolutions*. The town replenished and enlarged its stock of ammunition; arms were procured, and the inhabitants cheerfully turned out once a week to be instructed in military discipline. Boston had taken the lead in opposition to arbitrary power; distinguished individuals there, and in other towns, busily employed themselves in infusing among the people throughout the country, a knowledge of their rights; which was followed, as might have been expected, by public expressions on their part, from all quarters, *manfully to maintain them*. As the mercury in the political thermometer rose in the country, the town of Boston took higher ground; and Revolution marched onward; of the troops, that soon after invested Boston, this town sent a large number, and had its complement in the service during the war.

In 1778, a frame of government, adopted by the General Court of this State and submitted to the people for acceptance, was laid before the town, and disapproved of; four being for, and one hundred against it.

MISCELLANEOUS.—There is in the south west part of the town, near Mr. Elijah Rice's, a large meadow of about seventy acres, owned by several individuals, which has lately been found to contain excellent *peat*; it has been examined in various parts of the meadow, and taken out in some places to the depth of several feet, and in all, proves to be of a superior quality: so great is the quantity, it may be said to be inexhaustable.

A majority of this town, in 1786, sided with Shays in his opposition to government—many of its inhabitants took arms and repaired to the field—they aided in stopping the Courts, &c. and, for a time, the peace of the town was greatly disturbed and fears were entertained, that it would be followed with bloodshed—happily quiet and order were restored—it seems now to be as generally

found his master's fears were groundless. The son, Lewis Allen, having arrived to man's estate, afterwards removed to Leicester, owned the Mount Pleasant farm, and died there. He was buried in the garden of the Mount Pleasant farm, and near the road, at his own request; that he might, as he said, learn the news, when the stage came from Boston!

admitted, that there were causes of complaint, as it is, that the course pursued to remove them was unjustifiable.

Few towns have been favored with more general health than this. The disorders, which have prevailed here to the greatest extent, have been the dysentery and the canker-rash. In 1770, twenty seven persons died here of the latter; two families lost four in each; and in 1775, the former was brought into this place from the camp, and proved fatal to numbers; and the whole number of deaths in that year was nineteen. Dr. Sumner observes, in his half century sermon, preached June 23, 1812, that "these two were the years of our greatest mortality—and that in 1790, one in fifty of our inhabitants had passed eighty years of age; of these one died in her hundred and fifth year,* and another lived to be one hundred and five years and two months old†: they that live the longest, find an appointed time, beyond which they cannot pass." In 1821, the dysentery prevailed here again, principally among children, to an alarming degree. For a time, it proved fatal to nearly all, who were attacked with it. The number of deaths in that year, far exceeded those in any other, and amounted to forty.

The following table exhibits the number of deaths in this town, in each year, for the last ten years, commencing January 1, 1816, and ending December 31, 1825.

	1816	'17	'18	'19	'20	'21	'22	'23	'24	'25	Total.
Under 1	5	1	1	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	14
Between 1 & 5	2	0	1	3	0	20	2	6	6	2	42
Between 5 & 10	0	1	3	0	1	2	1	0	2	1	11
Between 10 & 20	0	2	0	0	1	4	1	0	1	0	9
Between 20 & 30	3	3	2	5	1	4	1	2	2	2	25
Between 30 & 40	4	2	3	0	0	2	2	1	2	2	18
Between 40 & 50	3	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	12
Between 50 & 60	1	2	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	2	13
Between 60 & 70	0	2	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	11
Between 70 & 80	1	4	1	2	4	2	2	3	2	4	25
Between 80 & 90	1	0	2	1	1	1	3	2	4	1	16
Over 90	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
	21	20	17	13	11	40	17	21	24	16	200

Of those living, there were, on the first day of January, 1826, one male over 90—females over that age, none—over 80 and under 90, of males 8; females 8—over 70 and under 80, of males 14; females, 15—total over 70—46. In 1810, the population of this town was 1210; in 1820—1458; if the increase has been one half as great in five years past, as it was in the ten preceeding, it amounts now to

*Widow Mary Jones. †Widow Ruth Garfield.

1582. The number of ratable polls is not less than three hundred and ninety.

Twenty seven of the youth of this town have received a collegiate education.

The following is a Catalogue of their names, when and where graduated, the places of their after residence, professions, &c.

* Artemas Ward, 1768,	Harvard University,	Chief Jus. C. C. Pleas, Worcester Co.; Maj. Gen. in the Revolution; Mem. Con. &c.†	
* Jacob Cushing, do.	do.	Waltham, ordained minister there,	DD.
* Ezekiel Dodge, 1749	do.	Abington,	do.
* Lemuel Hedge, 1759	do.	Warwick,	do.
* Nehemiah Parker, 1763	do.	Hubbardston,	do.
* John Cushing, 1764	do.	Ashburnham,	do.
* Edward Goddard, do.	do.	Swanzey, N. H.	do.
* Silas Bigelow, 1765	do.	Paxton,	do.
* Nathan Goddard, 1770	do.		
Isaac Stone, do.	do.	Douglass,	do.
Aaron Crosby, do.	do.	Dummerston, Vt.	do.
* Benjamin Heywood, 1775	do.	Worcester,	Judge C. C. Pleas, Worcester County.
Benjamin Stone, 1776	do.	Shrewsbury	First Preceptor of Leicester Acad'y, and Preceptor of other do. now resident in Shrewsbury.
* Samuel Crosby, 1777	do.	Charlestown, N. H.	Apothecary.
Artemas Ward, 1783	do.	Boston,	Member of Congress, and now Chief Jus. C. C. Pleas.
* Frederick Parker, 1784	do.	Canterbury,	Minister there.
Calvin Goddard, 1786	Dartmouth Col.	Norwich, Conn.	Mem. Congress, and Judge of Sup. Court.
Samuel Sumner, do.	do.	Southborough,	Minister there, now resident in Vermont.
* Otis Crosby, 1791	do.	Ordained minister.	
* Henry D. Ward, 1791	H. U.	Removed to Columbia, S. C. an eminent Counsellor at Law, died at Middletown, Conn.	
Wilkes Allen, 1801	do.	Chelmsford,	Minister there.
Andrew H. Ward, 1808	do.	Shrewsbury,	Counsellor at Law.
David Brigham, 1810	do.	Fitchburg,	do.
Henry D. Ward, 1816	do.	Resident Graduate,	Cambridge.
*Azariah Wilson, do.	do.	Went out Chaplain in the Macedonian, Capt. Downs, and died at Valparaiso, 1818.	
Jubal Harrington, 1825,	Providence College,	At Law School,	Northampton.
William Pratt, do.	do.	Resident in	Shrewsbury.

* Dead. † A biographical sketch of the life of the Honorable Artemas Ward, accompanied with interesting revolutionary papers, &c. will be furnished hereafter.

It furnished one field officer in the French war, preceeding the Revolution, and one Major General in the Revolutionary war—it has also furnished one member of the Executive Council, and one Speaker of the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth—one Judge of Probate, and two Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester—one Representative to Congress, and one High Sheriff, for the county aforesaid.

There are between thirty and forty buildings in this town insured by the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which is attracting the attention of its citizens, in proportion as they regard the truth of the old proverb, "*that a penny saved is as good as a penny earned.*" There are in this town, five English and West India goods stores, five licensed public houses, three Gunsmiths, two Tanneries, four Blacksmiths, and a good supply of other mechanics, two Clergymen, three Physicians, and one gentleman in the profession of the Law.

Great, indeed, has been the emigration from this town for the last forty years, yet it has gradually increased in numbers and respectability, and greatly improved in agriculture and the mechanic arts. Its present flourishing condition justifies the expectation, that it will go on, "prospering and to prosper" for years long yet to come, and, as we hope and trust, till time shall be no more.

INDEX TO MR. WARD'S HISTORY OF SHREWSBURY.

Agricultural Society, 6; Agriculture, practices in, 6; Assabet, River 11; Allen, Rev. George, ordained, salary, 22; Archibald, Mr. Henry, 23; Allen, Lewis anecdote of, 31; Allen, Wilkes, graduated, 34.

Boylston, 3, error in plan of, 6; Brooks, Noah, set off, 3; Bowman's Island, 10; Bayberry Island, 10; Brooks, 11; Bummet Brook, 11; Bridge, Long Pond, construction and destruction of, 13; Burying ground, 15; Breck, his sermon, 16, letter, 27; Barrett, Mr. nomination as minister, 17; Bayley, Mr. nominated minister, 17; Buckminster, Mr. 20; Bancroft, Rev. Dr. 20; Baptist society, 22; Bullard, Samuel, 26; Baldwin, Henry, 26; Bragg, Ebenezer, account of fire, 27; Bragg, Abiel, 27; Bragg, Deacon John, 27; Bush, Jotham, 31; Bigelow, Silas graduated, 34; Brigham, David graduated, 34.

Cutler, Ebenezer set off, 3; Cultivation, 6; Coal, indications 6; Clay, 9; Canal, Blackstone 10; Common, 15; Cushing, Mr. nominated minister, settled, salary, 17; Courts, vote in relation to 30; Crawford, William, 31; Cushing, Jacob graduated, 34; Cushing, John graduated, 34; Crosby, Aaron graduated, 34; Crosby, Samuel graduated, 34; Crosby, Otis graduated, 34.

Dam at the outlet of Long Pond, 11; Delegates to Provincial Congress, 30; Deaths for ten years, 33; Dodge, Ezekiel graduate, 34; Diseases, 33.

Eager, Zachariah 3; Extent of the town, 15; Engines, fire, 29.

Families, set off, 3; Foster, Jonathan set off, 3; Face of the town, 6; Forest trees, 6; Fishes, improvement of breeds, 8, 9; Flint's pond, 10; Foster, Rev. Mr. 20; Fund, ministerial, 22; Fisk, Benjamin 31.

Grant, original 1717, 1; Grafton, families annexed to, 3; Grape Island, 9; Grass Island, 9, 10; Grist mills, 12; Goulding hill, 12; Goodrich, Rev. Mr. 20; Goddard, Benjamin, 28; Gray, Harrison, 31; Garfield, Widow Ruth, 33;

Goddard, Edward, graduated, 34; Goddard, Nathan graduated, 34; Goddard, Calvin graduated, 34.

Howe, Daniel, 2; Harvey, Z. 3; Half Moon Pond, 10; Highlands, 12; Howe, Elizabeth 16; Houghton, John 16; Hills, 12, Maynard, 26; Henshaw, Col. Joseph, 31; Heywood, Benjamin, graduated, 34; Hedge, Lemuel, graduated, 34; Harrington, Jubal, graduated, 35.

Indians, no disturbances from 1, 2, not mentioned in records, 2; Islands in Long Pond, 9; Ingersoll, Samuel B. 20, ordained, died, 21; Insurance, 35.

Jordan Pond, 11.

Keyes, Silas, his survey, 4, 5; Keyes, John, 2, 26, 27; Keyes, Capt. John, house burnt, 27, his sons, Solomon, John, Stephen, 27; Knowlton, Capt. Thomas, 28.

Lancaster, families annexed to 3; Leg, annexed to Lancaster, 3; Long Pond, 8, islands in, 9; Little Pine Island, 9; Longevity, 33.

Minerals, 6; Manure, increasing, 7; Mills, 12; Meeting House Hill, 12; Meeting Houses, 16, 17, 22; Ministers, 17, 18, 20, 21; McGregory, Mr. Elias, 23; Maynard's, Daniel, hill, 26; Morse, Jonathan, house burnt, 28; Morse, Rev. Ebenezer, 31; Mortality, bill of, 33.

Newton, Obediah set off, 3: Newton, Edward set off, 3; Nurses Corner, 3; Newton, Samuel set off, 3; Nurse, William set off, 3; Nurse, Joseph, 26; Newton, Capt. Martin, 28.

Outlet of Long Pond, 10, 11.

Petition for privileges, 1727, 2; Parish, 3, 17, 21; Parish, second 3, 17; Productions, vegetable, 7; Plaister of Paris, 7; Ponds, 8; Paine, Joshua, settled, salary, declined, 17; Pews, sold, 22; Poor, thoughts on the support of, 25; Paupers, numbers, expense, sale, 24; Pounds, situation of, 26; Parker, Nehemiah graduated, 34; Parker, Frederic graduated, 34; Pratt, William graduated, 35; Population, 34.

Quinepexet river, 3; Quinsigamond lake, 8.

Read, David 3; Ram Island, 9; Round Pond, 10; Rocky Plain, 12, 16; Rawson Hill, 12; Roads, 12, 13, 14; Restoration Society, 23; Revolutionary History, 29; Representatives, instructions to, 30; Rice, Elijah, 32.

Shrewsbury, situation, 1; boundaries, 4, 5; extent, 2, 3, 15; survey of Keyes, 4, 5; leg, 3; shoe, 3; second parish, 3; cultivation, 6; face of the town, 6; forests, 6; coal, indications of 6; productions, 7; ponds, 8; streams, 11; mills, 12; high lands, 12; roads, 12; stages, 15; meeting houses, 16, 17, 22, 23; pews sold, 22; ministers, 17, 18, 20, 21; baptist society, 22; restoration society, 23; schools, 24; poor, 24, 25; pounds, 26; fires, 26, 27, 28, 29; engines, 29; revolution, 29, 30, 31, 32; peat, 32; part taken by inhabitants in Shay's insurrection, 32; revolutionary history, 29, 32; health and mortality, 33; graduates from colleges, 34; distinguished men, 35; population, 34; insurances, 35; emigration, 35; manufactories, 35; public houses, 35; stores, 35; mechanics, 35; Shoe, set off, 3; Survey of Silas Keyes, 1795, 4; Sherman's Island, 10; Shoemake Island, 10; Sharp Pine Island, 10; Stratton Island, 10; Sewall's Pond, 11; Sewall's Hill, 12; Sounding Hill, 12; Stages, 15; Societies, religious, 16, 17, 22, 23; Sumner, Joseph settled, 17, salary, 18, ordained, 18, notice of his life, 19, anecdote of 19, character, 20, funeral sermon, 20; Schools, grant for, districts, 24; Stone, Mr. Calvin R. fire, near, 29; Shays, his opposition, 32; Stone, Isaac graduated, 34; Stone, Benjamin graduated, 34; Sumner, Samuel graduated, 34.

Trenches for walls, 7; Turnpike, Worcester, 13; Turnpike, Holden and Rutland, 14; Taylor, William original proprietor, 16.

Vilas, Mr. Samuel W. 23; Votes in relation to the revolutionary contest, 30, 31.

West Boylston, 22; Ward, Nahum 2; Westborough, family annexed, 3; Whitney, William set off, 3; Wheelock, Daniel set off, 3; Whitney, Elijah, 3; Whipple, Rev. Edward, installed, character, died, 21; Wood, Rev. Jacob 23; Wheelock, Gershom house burnt, 26; Whitney's history, quoted, 27; Ward, Artemas Gen. 34; Ward, Artemas, Judge, 34; Ward, Andrew H. graduated, 34; Ward, Henry D. graduated, 34; Wilson, Azariah graduated, 35.

HISTORY OF STERLING.

HISTORY CONTINUED.

In the war with Philip, this little tribe was entirely broken up; their Sachem Shoshanim or Sagamore Sam was taken prisoner, confined in Boston gaol, and afterwards ignominiously executed on Roxbury neck, in 1676. His possessions immediately fell into the hands of his conquerors. John Prescott appears to be the first English proprietor of the spot where the Sagamores dwelt. The island in the Pond was granted to him in 1721.* The little hillock where royalty once assumed its pageantry and its power, is now cultivated as a corn field. The ploughshare often turns up the relics of savage implements, stone axes and arrow heads, together with the bones of the former possessors. Frequently the oxen, in ploughing, suddenly sink into the concealed cemeteries of the departed brave. During the past season, the present owner, impelled by antiquarian curiosity, opened one of these gloomy recesses. At the depth of 2 or 3 feet from the surface, he came upon a flat stone, lying in a horizontal position; after raising this, two other stones, standing perpendicularly, were disclosed, at the distance of about two feet; between these was the perfect skeleton of a human being, in a sitting posture, the hands being carefully folded upon the knees. The bones were carefully removed by an intelligent surgeon of the vicinity, who will probably soon inform us whether the cranium is of an European or an Asiatic formation.

As early as 1663, the Colonial Legislature made a grant of 500 acres of land lying northwesterly of the east pond, to Francis Norton and Nicholas Davison,† for the use of the town of Charlestown. A part of this tract still retains the name of the Charlestown farm. The lines were distinctly marked, and after the new grant to Lancaster, it was reclaimed by the original granters, or persons

* See Proprietors' records.

† These men were somewhat distinguished in the early history of the Colony. Johnson describes Norton as Captain of the Charlestown company, "of a bold and cheerful spirit, well disciplined, and an able man." 2 Hist. Coll. vii. 55. After their decease, the town of Charlestown granted the land to their widows: partition was made, and Mrs. Davison granted her share to her daughter, Mrs. Lynde, from whom it descended to her heirs, John Alford and others, among whom were some of the most distinguished families in Charlestown. In 1754, they granted it to Rev. Ephraim Bound, the minister of the second Baptist Church in Boston, Nathaniel Brown, of Charlestown, and Col. Marston, of Boston, the Proprietor of a celebrated public house, in King street, at the commencement of the Revolution.

under them, in 1713. On this farm, was supposed to be a valuable silver mine, and for the purpose of obtaining the treasure, various shafts were sunk near a small hill about the year 1755. Christian Angel, a miner from Sweden, was the principal workman. He was in the principal excavation at the time of the great earthquake in the year last mentioned. Specimens of the ore were sent to England to be assayed, but the quantity of the precious metals was too small to justify a further prosecution of the design. In 1777, the Proprietors sold the land to Josiah Kendall, reserving to themselves and their heirs all the minerals, with the right of egress and regress, for the purpose of working the mines. The principal shaft is now nearly filled up with water, and fragments of rocks, casually thrown into the cavity, by persons visiting the mine from curiosity. Judging from the mass of materials thrown from it, the workmen must have proceeded to a great depth: tradition says upwards of one hundred feet at an angle of about forty five degrees. Among the fragments are found plumbago, nickel, sulphates of copper and of iron, garnets and various other minerals, but the predominating material is a rich Carbonate of iron, some specimens of which, it is thought by an experienced mineralogist, would yield 90 per cent. of pure metal. The high price of fuel will probably prevent working it.

This place being a wilderness in the time of the Indian wars, had but little concern with those tragic scenes. The Washacum pond, however, is memorable as the scene of the only victory ever obtained on the water in the County of Worcester. In May, 1676, Capt. Henchman, of Boston, marching with a force for the defence of the plantation on Connecticut river, was informed by a Natick Indian, that the enemy was at Washacum. Accordingly he varied his course and suddenly supprised a party in their canoes taking fish. Capt. Henchman instantly commenced an attack upon the boats, which were defended until seven of the Indians were killed, and twenty nine taken prisoners.

In 1707, another battle was fought upon this territory. Twenty four Indians, remarkable for their prowess and bravery, had the temerity to venture as far as Marlborough, where they captured a Mr. Jonathan Wilder, formerly of Lancaster. The next day they were pursued by a party of the Marlborough men who overtook them in this town. The approach of the English threw the savages into the utmost consternation. The weather was such that their packs and guns were secured from the wet, and it was sometime

before they could prepare for action. Having first dispatched their prisoner, they commenced the fight, which was maintained with great obstinacy until they lost nine of their men. Two only were killed on our part, and two others wounded, but not mortally.*

SETTLEMENT.—The first white inhabitants established themselves in Sterling as early as the year 1720. Circumstances lead us to fix that year as the precise date of the settlement. Gamaliel Beaman† was the first inhabitant; he was immediately followed by Samuel Sawyer,‡ Benjamin Houghton,§ David Osgood‖ and Jonathan Osgood.¶ Before 1726, they had all erected houses; and probably

* Whitney; and Harrington's century sermon. The spot where this battle was fought is about three miles from the Meeting House on the road to Westminster. Tradition points out the rock against which the Indians placed their victim before they killed him, which was effected by severe stabs through the sutures of the skull.

†He was born in 1684 and died in 1745, the first person buried in the place. His father was named John and his grandfather Gamaliel Beaman, who came into Lancaster as early as 1659; he died in 1707, at an advanced age. This family is numerous and respectable. Ezra Beaman, Esq. late of West Boylston, was one of the descendants from a collateral branch. The farm in Sterling is now occupied by Gideon Beaman, a grandson of the first settler. The old house yet remains, having been recently repaired.

‡ Samuel Sawyer was born in 1698, and died in 1787. His farm is now owned and occupied by his grandson of the same name, He has recently torn down the old mansion, with its huge stone chimney and erected a more modern and convenient house upon the spot.

Many of the descendants of this man still reside in the place and form an extensive and influential family. The largest landholder in town also bears this name in common with that of his ancestor. He has sustained the office of Justice of the Peace for several years, and has often represented the town in the General Court. His farm adjoins that of the ancient family homestead. A part of this fertile tract he inherits from his maternal grandfather, Moses Cooper, an emigrant from Rowley, who died some years since at the age of 90. Another of the decendants, uniting both of the family names, is a valuable and worthy citizen of Templeton.

§There were three persons of this name in the early settlement of the town, distinguished by appropriate nicknames. This man kept the first tavern in the town and was designated by the name of Landlord Ben. The ancient house was accidentally burnt in 1821. The third generation owned this farm, but held it only for a short period.

‖ David Osgood, Esq. was the first Justice of the Peace that resided in the place. He was born in 1698, and died in 1771. His son of the same name, was able to retain the farm but a short time after his father's death. The old house still remains, although much varied in its form.

¶ Jonathan Osgood was the first deacon in the church, appointed March 18, 1745, and continued till his death in 1766. He was born in 1696. His farm was sold from the family previous to the revolution. The ancient dwelling house remains as a model of the primitive style of building. It was for many years, occupied as a tavern. Before the erection of a Meeting House, public worship was occasionally observed here on Sundays.

these were the only inhabitants then in the place. They were all natives of Lancaster, old parish, and of families who had long resided there. Their settlements were all within short distances from each other, lying northwesterly of the Meeting House. The inhabitants found there a small tribe of Indians, with whom they lived upon terms of the most perfect friendship, insomuch that they permitted them to indulge in their savage customs and laws. We are informed by well authenticated tradition, that one of their number having killed a fellow Indian, was immediately tried in a summary manner by his companions and forthwith tied to a tree and shot to death. Such was their custom of "executing justice speedily," that the murder, trial, execution and burial, all took place in the course of a few hours on a Sabbath morning. Decent grave clothes were procured from some of the English families for the murdered person, upon a promise to pay in deer skins, which, it was said, was never performed. But the rights of sepulture were denied to the criminal; his mangled remains were thrown naked into the same grave with those of his victim. The place of the burial is pointed out by the ancient inhabitants to this day.

The settlements advanced with great rapidity, by accessions not only from the old Parish, but also by numerous emigrations from various towns in the county of Essex, particularly from Rowley. As early as 1733, the settlers petitioned to be set off as a separate township, assigning as a particular reason, the great abuse of the Lord's day, in spending so much of it in travelling to and from the place of public worship. Their petition was disregarded, but their solicitations were continually renewed until the year 1741, when the Legislature proposed to grant their request, provided they would keep in repair one half of the Cart bridge, next above the meeting of the rivers in the town of Lancaster.* This proposition was rejected by the petitioners, but they soon after became a Corporation by the name of the second or west parish in Lancaster. The precise date of this incorporation cannot now be ascertained. The lands in the new grant not containing a sufficient number of inhabitants to form a parish, it was proposed that a strip, one mile in width, should be added from the old parish. A principal part of this tract has ever since belonged to Sterling, and is unquestionably the most valuable mile in either of the towns.

* This incorporation included that part of the new grant not included in Leominster, and one half of the mile so called; the corner boundary at Leominster corresponds with the present boundaries of the town.

The first Meeting House was built in 1741 or '42, principally by the voluntary labor of the people, the town granting them but £10 for that purpose, on condition they "would set it near where the largest timber grew." The spot selected had but few physical advantages besides this. The lot whereon it was set, was a part of the division of Elias Sawyer, an original proprietor. Mr. Sawyer, by deed of gift, gave the Precinct about three acres of land, for the purpose of setting a Meeting House, and for conveniency, about the same for stables and other uses.*

1744, Dec. 19. The Church gathered, and Rev. John Mellen settled as pastor. The ecclesiastical history will form a separate chapter.

1756. This is called the year of the great sickness. The dysentery prevailed to an alarming extent, especially among children. Some families, it is said, were entirely swept off. Forty two were buried in seven weeks. It was estimated the population of the place was then less than 800 souls. The proportion of the deaths to the whole number was as 1 to 19; a mortality that would have depopulated the parish in less than three years.†

1760, Oct. 9. A thanksgiving was celebrated in consequence of the reduction of Montreal, and the conquest of Canada. On this occasion a Sermon was delivered and printed, containing a history of the various campaigns in that memorable struggle. If the vast sacrifices made by this small parish were, as is probable, a specimen of what was effected by this country for the honor of their sovereign, the British Government owe us a debt of gratitude that

* See his deed of February 12, 1742, in the Registry of deeds, Book 18, page 129. Elias Sawyer was the son of Thomas Sawyer, who was captured with him by the Indians in 1706. See Whitney, 43. They were carried to Canada, and Elias was detained there for the purpose of building a Saw mill, the first, it is said, in Canada. The father was an original proprietor of the new grant, but died before the bargain was completed. This son was admitted to his father's right, by a special vote of the Proprietors in 1716. He did not remove on to the land himself, but granted it to his son, Capt. Elisha Sawyer, who left numerous descendants. His son, the second Capt. Elisha, who died in 1810, lived on the land, and conveyed it to the 4th generation, one of whom still retains a valuable lot.

† See three interesting Sermons of Rev. Mr. Mellen upon that occasion. In the great earthquake of Nov. 1755, a remarkable chasm was opened in the earth, near the southwest corner of the town, in Holden. The disease was attributed in that day to this cause, as the mortality increased, in proportion to its proximity to this spot. Holden, which then contained but a small population, buried 40—Rutland, 45; the north parish of Shrewsbury, (now Boylston and West Boylston) upwards of 20. The Quinepoxet river changed its channel, and many marks of a great alteration in the earth's surface are yet visible at that place.

cannot easily be repaid. Nearly all the military force of this part of the country was engaged in the various expeditions. Scarcely a family but mourned the loss of some of their valuable relatives. Upwards of twenty of the young men of this place fell victims in this contest. Four were slain in the *morning action* at Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755. Mr. Mellen has preserved the names of most of the slain in an Appendix to his Sermon.* .

1765, March 24. Died, Sebastian Smith, a native of Spain, aged 70. He had lived in the parish for several years, without any family. He emigrated when young, and had served in the English fleet when a lad under Admiral Shovel. He acquired a considerable estate, chiefly by trading upon a limited scale. He sustained a good moral character, and having been deprived of the advantages of an early education, he generously determined to appropriate all his means to supply that deficiency in others. Having been educated in the superstitions of his country, where the Holy Scriptures are a "sealed book," he took great delight in hearing the reading of those Holy Oracles, and for this purpose, he presented to the Parish a large folio Bible, on condition that it should be read as a part of public worship. This injunction has ever since been duly regarded.† He distributed his whole estate in public and private charity. He gave the Church two valuable silver tankards, with suitable inscriptions, and also bequeathed one hundred pounds sterling, to be expended in educating the poor children belonging to the Parish.‡

1766. The population had so far increased that an addition

*To wit, Samuel Fairbanks, William Fairbanks, Isaac Kendall, Ithamar Bennet, Hezekiah Whitcomb, John Whitcomb, Jacob Glazier, Simon Kendall, John Farrar, Jeremiah Dickinson, William Brabrook, Ebenezer Bigelow, Jacob Smith, Jonathan Geary, Philip Geno, Reuben Walker, Stephen Kendall, George Bush, Joseph Stuart, Jonathan Fairbanks, Isaac Kilburn, and probably many others.

†The "Sebastian Bible," as it was called, having become mutilated by long use, has recently been replaced by an edition, in two volumes, elegantly bound; the donation of the Washington Benevolent Society. It probably is known but to few of the present generation, that the practice of reading the Scriptures publicly on the Sabbath, is comparatively modern, in the Congregational Churches. It was considered by our Fathers as partaking too much of the formality of the Episcopalians. It has been followed here ever since the year 1748.

‡This bounty was entirely lost in the time of the Revolution, when so many public funds were swallowed up. Most of the inhabitants attribute the loss to the failure of paper money, others to the unfaithfulness of the Managers; the name of Capt. David Osgood is often mentioned in connection with this ungrateful fact.

was made to the Meeting House; it now presented a singular appearance, with three gable ends.

1770. Singing schools first commenced in town. This event was followed by a bitter and protracted controversy, respecting the proper modes of singing, and the relative rights of pastor, church and people. We shall notice it more fully in a subsequent chapter. It had been the practice for one of the Deacons to read the Psalm or Hymn from the old New England version, and for another Deacon to pitch the tune; after which, the whole Congregation united with unharmonious jargon, in the "celestial colloquy sublime." It was the wish of the people of taste and lovers of harmony, to introduce a better style in sacred music, but they were sturdily opposed by most of the Deacons with their friends. The controversy was in a few years ingulfed in the greater contest concerning the liberties of the country, and since that period, no place has been more famed for the excellence and purity of its sacred music.*

1775. As this place then formed a part of Lancaster, we are unable to state from the records, their public sacrifices in the war of Independence; but few people did more according to their ability. A great proportion of the young men entered into the service. Under the pension act of 1818, seventeen of the inhabitants brought themselves within the provisions of this law, so far as to obtain this merited bounty of the government. There were but five or six royalists in the place, and none of those united with the enemy. One individual was treated with great rudeness, accompanied with severe threats, but he had so long enjoyed the affections and confidence of the people, that they were restrained from any personal violence. He was a magistrate of great respectability and was honored with the confidence of his neighbors until his death.

The place furnished its due proportion of officers, as well as its quotas of soldiers. Col. Asa Whitcomb commanded one of the Continental Regiments in the expedition to Crown Point and Ticonderoga.†

* The first school was kept by three singing masters, to wit, Ashley, Hastings and White. The Minister favored the innovation, which drew down upon him the resentments of the people.

† This is the same Col. W. of whom an humorous anecdote is related in Thatcher's Journal. At the commencement of the war, he was one of our wealthiest citizens. He was for many years entrusted with the most important and responsible offices, was Deacon of the Church from 1760--Repre-

1781, April 25. The long controversy between this people and their neighbors at Lancaster, was now happily terminated by the incorporation of this part of Lancaster into a town by the name of Sterling, so called in honor of Lord Sterling of N. Jersey. The town withheld their consent to the separation for a long time. It was contended that the new town should share with the old parish in support of some of their expensive bridges and numerous paupers. This was resisted. The crisis was hastened by an injudicious attempt on the part of the old parish to exclude the Chocksett people from any participation in the town offices. This induced a trial of the relative strength of the parties, when the west parish outpolled their neighbors of the ancient territory. The conquerors followed up their victory by engrossing to their own citizens all the offices, and by ordering all the town meetings to be held at their Meeting House. By this time the Pharoahs were willing to let the people go. The incorporating act was assented to without much reflection. The line of demarcation was arbitrary, passing through the finest farms, and severing them into the most inconvenient forms.* The poor then *actually supported* were to be equally divided, but as no provision was made for returning paupers, they all fell into Lancaster.

These difficulties were amicably adjusted by an additional act, passed in 1793, wherein a line was established, including every man's farm in the town where his dwelling house fell, by the former line. This accounts for the great number of angles in the easterly part of the town. It was further provided, that the poor should be supported by that town on whose territory they dwelt

sentative from Lancaster before the division, and Justice of the Peace, besides his various military stations. Such was his zeal in the cause of liberty, and so great his confidence in the patriotism and integrity of his countrymen, that he pledged his whole fortune upon the faith of the paper currency, and consequently became bankrupt. He removed to Princeton, where he died at an advanced age, in a state of abject poverty; sustained by a conscious integrity, that never departed from him, and an exalted piety that elevated him above the ills of life. His farm is now owned by Rufus G. Amory, Esq. of Boston.

* See Stat. 1780, ch. 27. The line ran east, 21 south, one hundred and sixty rods; then south 8 west, eight hundred and twenty rods; then south 18 west to the foot of the Scar, and extending on that line to Shrewsbury. Many places were known by the name of the *Scar*, (or *Scaur*, it being an obsolete Scotch word, signifying a precipitous bank or side hill, divested of vegetation, by the sliding down of the earth, generally caused by the current of a river) on this occasion the scaur, next below Sawyer's Mill, was fixed upon as the boundary.

when they gained their settlement.* Since that period the inhabitants of but few towns have lived in greater harmony, or have been more assiduous in the interchange of kind offices than those of Sterling and Lancaster.

1786. Some of the inhabitants were infected with the spirit of rebellion, that led to the unhappy insurrection of this year; but none of them proceeded to violence or united themselves with the Shays army. A large majority was attached to the Government, and a considerable number entered into the service, and were with Gen. Lincoln at his triumphant entry into Petersham.

This year is also memorable as a period of unusual pestilence. The dysentery prevailed to an alarming extent. The number of deaths was forty eight, being treble of the average number for many years. The mortality was principally confined to children.

1787. This was one of the small minority of the towns of the County, that approved the adoption of the Federal Constitution. They chose a delegate, Capt. Ephraim Wilder,† who voted in the affirmative, upon that momentous and interesting question.

1796. A new parish was formed, by the name of the Second Parish in the towns of Boylston, Sterling and Holden.‡ The parish was formed not for any difference of opinions in religious speculations, but to accommodate those inhabitants that resided at too great a distance from the places of worship.

This year the Canker Rash (Scarlatina anginosa) prevailed as an epidemic; eight children died of the disease. The mortality was greater than in either of the ten preceding years. The principal physician, Dr. Israel Allen, published a treatise upon the disease with its concomitants, in an interesting pamphlet of sixty pag-

* Stat. 1792, ch. 55.

† This gentleman died 1805, aged 72. He was Representative of the town for some years, and has left many very respectable descendants. Of all the ancient Lancaster families, there is no one that has sustained so many important offices as this. Thomas Wilder came hither from Hingham in 1659. After his death his estate was divided between his three sons, Thomas, John and Nathaniel, in 1668. This last was a Lieutenant and was killed by the Indians in the great battle in 1704. Harrington 17. His son, Capt. Ephraim Wilder, died 1769, aged 94. He was wounded in the Indian fight of 1707. *Ibid* 18. His son, also, Capt. Ephraim Wilder, father to the subject of this notice died 1770, aged 62. A more minute notice of this family will be found in the subsequent history of Lancaster.

‡ Stat. 1796. ch. 10.

es.* As in the year 1786, it was followed by a malignant dysentery, that proved fatal to many children. It may be not unworthy of remark, that these epidemics generally return at intervals of ten years.

1799. The Meeting House having fallen to decay, and not being sufficient in size for all the inhabitants, a new one was built upon the site of the old house. It was dedicated on the first Sunday of the year 1800. The cost of the building was $8,500, and although not very faithfully built, it was for many years the most elegant and costly structure of the kind in the County. Since its erection, great improvements have been introduced in the construction of churches in this part of the country, discovering more economy, less profusion of ornament, and a better taste than are displayed in this edifice. The number of pews upon the lower flower is 94, and there are 38 in the galleries. It is ornamented with a lofty steeple and a bell.† The proceeds of the sales of the pews exceeded the cost of the house by more than $2,000, the excess was remitted to the purchasers of the pews.‡ On this occasion great labour and expense were bestowed in levelling the common or public square. The stable lots were at this period sold, by vote of the town, and is the only title by which the proprietors hold their estates.

In the course of a year or two, the Town House was built upon the southerly side of the Common. It is believed, this was the first edifice erected in this County, for the purpose of holding town meetings. It is a decent building of 38 by 28 feet, with a porch in

* In this work, Dr. Allen expresses doubts whether the Canker Rash is contagious, as when it entered a family it would often happen, that all the children would not be infected, and many had it, without being near a diseased person. The symptoms likewise were not always uniform, it was not always denoted by efflorescence upon the skin, nor by canker, but sometimes by a sore throat only. The most dangerous periods were those of the accession and recession of the eruption. The methods of cure were various according to the symptoms. It is a subject of regret that our learned physicians, do not oftener publish to the world, the causes, progress and cure, of those endemial diseases, that so often prevail among the children of our villages.

† The first bell was made by Doolittle of Hartford, weighed 879 lbs. It broke Oct. 1821, and was replaced by that now in use, Dec. 1, 1821, made by J. W. Revere of Boston, the weight of which is 1017 lbs.

‡ The pews in the old M. H. were never sold; every spring they went through the process of seating the meeting-house, as it was called. The man who paid the highest tax, had the first choice, and so on in succession. The changes in property caused by the revolution, after which some of the best farms were occupied by tenants, gave to men in humble life, the foremost seats, to the great discomfiture of some of the patrician families. This probably accelerated the building of the new Church.

front. The upper story is used for a district school house for the Centre ward. The land upon which it stands was granted by Ebenezer Pope,* and the town have but a limited use in the lot.†

The several district school houses were generally built about the same time, all at the expense of the town, but are repaired by the individual districts.

1808. That part of the town that belonged to the second parish in Boylston, Holden and Sterling, was incorporated into a town by the name of West Boylston. It included thirty one families, being about one eighth part of the population and territory, and one eleventh part of the taxable property of the whole town. An equitable division was made of the town property, and the poor then chargeable were to be supported in the proportion last named. The act of incorporation being unskilfully drawn, an additional act was found necessary to explain one of the provisions of the first statute, to enable the town of Sterling to obtain their equal rights. This was resisted by West Boylston, but passed the Legislature.‡

POPULATION.—Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, there were enumerations of the inhabitants, at very great intervals for certain purposes. But such were the superstitious prejudices against numbering the people, that no great dependence can be placed upon the returns. The most accurate, probably, is that of 1764: It is noted in the church records, that there were at that time 151 families in this parish. In the town of Lancaster there were 328 families and 1862 inhabitants, making to a family 5⅔, consequently in Sterling in

	No. of Houses.	Pop.		Pop.
1764	156	856	1810	1453§
1790	209	1428	1820	1710
1800	234	1614		

The number of rateable polls at different periods is as follows,

1793	364	1810	422
1800	380	1820	455‖

* This gentleman was for more than 40 years, a respectable trader in town. He descended from the ancient family of that name in Danvers: was nephew to Gen. Putnam by marriage.—He died in March, 1825, aged 73, leaving a considerable estate.

† Deed recorded, book 168—page 61. ‡Stat. 1807, ch. 48, and 1810, ch. 7.

§ This diminution may be attributed to the loss occasioned by the setting off thirty one families, containing about 200 inhabitants, to West Boylston.

‖ These are the numbers set to the town in the State valuations. The polls actually taxed, it is believed never exceeded 410. It has always been the fate of this town, to be severely *doomed*, in this particular.

The number of births and deaths if accurately kept, furnishes important data, from whence to infer the amount of population, as well as the state of the health of the territory. An inquiry into the causes of the constant increase in the number of deaths, is an important subject of examination in our political economy. It is our duty to furnish the details merely. The remissness of our citizens in causing their family events to be recorded with the Town Clerk, is a subject of regret. Our church records furnish no information previous to the settlement of Rev. Mr. Holcomb in 1779.

The following is the result from that time in periods of ten years.

	Births.	Deaths.		Deaths.
1779	44	13	1799	25
1780	52	16	1800	16
1781	45	17	1801	23
1782	43	13	1802	11
1783	39	17	1803	25
1784	38	14	1804	17
1785	55	19	1805	16
1786	43	48*	1806	11
1787	46	18	1807	29*
1788	39	7	1808	17
	444	182		190
1789	48	20	1809	18
1790	33	19	1810	19
1791	43	19	1811	15
1792	59	14	1812	25
1793	43	14	1813	19†
1794	35	13	1814	30
1795	50	16	1815	20
1796	36	26*	1816	27*
1797	52	12	1817	21
1798	44	21	1818	25
	174	395		219
1819		25	1823	22
1820		24	1824	26
1821		40	1825	37
1822		36		

For seven years, 210

*In these years the town was visited by epidemical diseases, chiefly among children.

†But one adult female died this year, and she aged 92 years.

FINANCES.—The revenues of the Corporation are wholly derived from an annual tax upon the polls of the Inhabitants and estates within the town.

The expenditures are generally as follows.

Minister's Salary*	$700 00
Support of Schools	800 00
Support of Poor	600 00
Assessor's wages	50 00
Collector's fees	30 00
Burial of the dead	25 00
Recording births and deaths	5 00
Incidental charges	100 00
	$2310 00

The highways are generally repaired by a tax of $1200 payable in labor, allowing a man 12 cents an hour; oxen, carts and ploughs in the same proportion. The last year a new method was introduced by appropriating for this object 600 dollars in money, and provision was made for its expenditure by agents chosen for that purpose. The result of the experiment was far from furnishing satisfactory evidence of its economy or utility; but as it was opposed by the immemorial usages and prejudices of the inhabitans, it was this year abandoned, without further trial.

The two first items in the above schedule, are uniform in every year's grant, the others vary according to circumstances. The support of the poor has been a subject of serious investigation; various expedients have been adopted to lessen the expenditure and the result of all of them is not yet fully ascertained. It was formerly the custom to contract for the support of each pauper separately. This mode was abandoned 5 or 6 years since, after the annual expenses had gradually increased, until it amounted to $1371. The town then adopted the method of contracting with a single individual to support the poor collectively; it was found that the total expense was reduced. In 1822 a farm of about 60 acres was purchased for

* The salary of the Minister is granted by the town, and assessed by their officers, without the intervention of a Parish. There are but few dissenters from the Congregational establishment; the whole amount of their proportion of the Ministerial tax in Sterling is short of $25: fifteen or sixteen of them belong to the Baptist Society in West Boylston, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Crosby; two to the Congregational Parish in that town; one to the Presbyterians; and one or two to the Universalists. Some of the inhabitants of West Boylston pay their taxes and attend worship with the Congregationalists here.

$1900, and is yet held by the town.*. The person undertaking the support of the poor has the use of this farm, besides a sum in money from 3 to $400 annually. The whole expenses for paupers since, has not much exceeded the sum of $600 dollars. Still there is a lamentable growth of pauperism, principally resulting from profligacy, idleness and vice. This has awakened the slumbering energies of the virtuous part of the community, and vigorous measures are now in operation to suppress the alarming evil. The town has voted that the Poor house should also be a Work house, and the overseers are clothed with sufficient powers to enable them to execute the laws upon that subject. Suitable apartments are about to be erected for the confinement of the idle, the refractory and the insane. A code of wholesome bye laws and regulations is provided for the due order of the establishment, and the moral discipline of the unfortunate inmates of the house. So that if the present generation sustain heavier burdens, posterity will reap the benefits, in the diminution of the causes of pauperism. The difficulty most to be apprehended is, that a majority of the town will not have sufficent firmness and resolution to persevere, in a system introduced from motives so praiseworthy and honorable.

In 1825, a fund of a $1000 was established by the liberal donation of one of the most opulent of the townsmen, for the relief of such poor persons, as are not actually chargeable to the public for their support, to be appropriated in the first instance, towards helping females in obtaining fuel in the winter season. The fund was derived from the sale of a farm, granted to the town for this purpose.† It has been sold for the sum abovenamed. The proceeds are secured by a mortgage of sufficient real estate for twenty years, with the interest payable annually.‡ The fund is under the control of a board of five trustees, to be selected every year, one from the Justices of the Peace resident in town, one from the Deacons of the Church and the residue from the board of Selectmen. They are to account annually to the town and their books and papers are always to be subject to the inspection of the town as well as to the founder and his heirs. A judicious management of this property will silently relieve much individual distress.

Fires.—Several buildings have been burnt at different times,

* Deed, Recorded Book 229, page 67.

† See deed from Jacob Conant to Inhabitants of Sterling, Recorded Book 246 page 536.

‡ Ibid page 534.

but in general they were of little value. The most remarkable fires were the following:

1794, Sept. 27. The store of Moses Smith, the Town Clerk, was burnt, with all its contents; among which were all the public records of the town, from its first organization as a Parish.

1809, Oct. A Blacksmith's shop was burnt in the village.

1813. A valuable barn, with its contents, was struck by lightning and consumed.

1815, Nov. 30. The dwelling house of Jesse Partridge, upon the farm of Hon. John Welles, of Boston, was burnt in the evening of Thanksgiving day, when the three sons of the tenant, the youngest of whom was four years, and the eldest eight years of age, perished in the flames. The family were upon a visit to a neighbor's house, leaving these boys quietly asleep; and in a few hours, the house was discovered to be completely enveloped in flames; it was too late to save any of the property, or to afford any relief to the sufferers. Another dwelling house was burnt upon the same farm, thirty or forty years since.

1819, March. A Cabinet-maker's shop was burnt.

1821. Two old dwelling houses were consumed this year; they were of little value. These are all the dwelling houses ever burnt in town.

1826. A Grist mill and Saw mill belonging to Mr. Jesse Dana, were set on fire by the carelessness of some fishermen and consumed.

The same year a valuable barn with its contents was burnt from some unknown cause. Many attribute it to the work of an incendiary, others believe it was caused by lightning.

Many of the Inhabitants have availed themselves of the facilities of Insurance, afforded by the Worcester County Mutual Fire Insurance Company. Upwards of twenty buildings belonging to this town are insured in the office of that Corporation.

The people of this place have been distinguished for their benevolence in affording relief to the unfortunate sufferers by these calamities. These contributions being entirely voluntary, are consequently unequal; it is true they afford an opportunity for the exercise of the kindest affections of the human heart, but in principle such frequent appeals to the public charity are unjust and improper. The sums paid for the loss of a single building would oftentimes insure every house in the town, not for one year only, but for seven. Should the man who loses his fortune by the dan-

gers of the seas solicit contributions, he would be scoffed at for his wanton negligence in not obtaining insurance. Why should the same neglect be viewed in a different light with regard to property upon the land?

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

Appointed.		Died.	aged.	
1760	David Osgood,	1771	73	
1773	Ezra Houghton,	1789	67	
1780	Asa Whitcomb,			Removed to Princeton.
1785	William Putnam,	1807	77	
1788	Benjamin Richardson,	1821	92	
1794	Edward Raymond,	1810	82	
1801	John Robbins,*			
1803	Israel Allen,	1817	60	
1809	Bartholomew Brown,			Removed to Bridgwater.
1812	Moses Thomas.*			
1813	Isaac Goodwin,			Removed to Worcester.
1813	James Wilder.*			
1814	Thomas H. Blood.*			
1814	Samuel Sawyer.*			
1819	Alexander Dustin.*			

COUNSELLORS AT LAW.

Hon. Prentiss Mellen, from 1789 to 1791.
Isaac Story, from 1799 to 1802.
Bartholomew Brown, from 1803 to 1809.
Isaac Goodwin, from 1809 to 1826.
Ephraim M. Cunningham, from 1818 to 1820.
Luke Eastman, from 1822.*
Alexander Dustin, 1826.*

PRACTICING PHYSICIANS.

1774. Josiah Leavitt to 1787, removed.
1786. Israel Allen, died 1817, aged 60.
John Barnard, died 1825, aged 82.
Pearson Kendall*
1804. Luther Allen.*
1817. Pearson T. Kendall.*

MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

1744, Dec. 19. John Mellen, Dismissed, Nov. 14, 1774
1779, June 2. Reuben Holcomb, Dismissed, May, 1814
1815, March 22. Lemuel Capen, Dismissed, Jan. 1819
1819, June 30. Peter Osgood.*

* These are still resident in town, faithfully laboring in their several vocations.

ERRATA. On page 48, the totals of births and deaths in a part of the impressions of this No. should be transposed: 174 should be in the place of 395.

HON. THEODORE SEDGWICK, L. L. D.

He was born at Hartford, West Division, Conn. in May, 1746. He was the youngest of six children. His father, Benjamin Sedgwick, died at the age of 45, leaving little property, when Theodore was only ten years old. By the aid of an elder brother he was enabled to enter Yale College, but his funds not permitting, he was compelled to leave before his term was compleated. He then entered on the study of Divinity, which he soon quitted and commenced the study of Law in the office of Mark Hopkins, Esq. of Great Barrington. He was admitted an Attorney of the Common Pleas in the County of Berkshire, in 1776. He commenced practice in Great Barrington, afterwards moved to Sheffield, and finally, in 1785, removed to Stockbridge, which was ever after his place of residence.

From 1776 to the time of his death, which happened at Boston, Jan. 24, 1813, he was almost constantly engaged in public business. He was first aid to Gen. Thomas, in his expedition to Canada, in 1776; Representative of Sheffield in the Legislature for several years successively; and in 1785, he was sent Representative to Congress. During the Shay's insurrection he was one of the most active and efficient on the side of Government, and in many instances narrowly escaped with his life. The insurgents plundered his house, insulted his person, and destroyed his property. In 1788, he was of the "convention called to decide on the adoption of the Federal Constitution and was one of the chief advocates in its favor." He was afterwards Speaker of the House of Representatives, and, in 1789, he was again elected to Congress and continued there until 1793. He was then chosen Senator of the United States, in which office he remained until 1799, when he was re-elected to Congress, and was made Speaker. In 1802, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court and continued in that high and responsible station until his death.

Judge Sedgwick was the first who broke down the austerity and dignity of the Court in its intercourse with the members of the Bar. Before his time, it had been the practice of the bench to keep a watchful eye over its dignity, and regard with suspicion all appearance of familiarity on the part of those attending the courts. His affability and social character endeared him to the members of the bar, and a remembrance of him is yet preserved and cherished with great respect for his private virtues as well as for his invaluable public services. B.

TIMOTHY RUGGLES, ESQ. OF HARDWICK.

The subject of this memoir was born at Rochester in this State, October 11, 1711. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Timothy Ruggles, minister of the first parish in that town, who was born at Roxbury in 1685, and settled at Rochester in 1717. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1707, and died respected, 1769, at the advanced age of 84. The Rev. Thomas Ruggles, of Guilford, Conn. was of the same family, and was settled in the ministry in the latter place in the beginning of the last century. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, of whom it is proposed to speak, was educated at Cambridge and was graduated in 1732. It was the wish of his father to prepare him for the sacred profession; but for this it seems he had little inclination. He therefore soon after leaving the University, entered on the sudy of the law, and commenced practice in his native town. His first appearance in public life was in the provincial assembly, where he was sent a representative, 1736, from Rochester. How much he distinguished himself at the early age of 25, as a legislator is not now known. He is remembered, however, at this time, for having procured the passage of a bill, prohibiting deputy Sheriff's from filling writs, which has ever since continued in force.

From Rochester he moved to Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, where he went into an office and entered on the duties of his profession. He soon after married a rich widow, opened a tavern, and was remarkable for his attendance in person on travellers, discharging the various duties of ostler, barkeeper, &c. saying that no man should ever be above his business. He became eminent as an attorney, and attended the courts at Barnstable, Bristol and Plimouth. His reputation was such that he was employed in almost all cases of magnitude and importance, and was generally opposed by Col. Otis, father of the celebrated James Otis. His knowledge of the law was much above those of his time, and his powerful native sense united to a fearless confidence, gave him the name of an eminent and successful advocate. As a scholar he was above mediocrity, and in his language, though he might not be always elegant, he never failed of being foscible and impressive. In his reasoning he was ingenious, and in public debate often eloquent.

About the year 1754, Mr. Ruggles removed from Sandwich to Hardwick, in this county. With what success he practiced as an attorney here, is not known. In 1755, he received an appoint-

ment in the army destined to act against the French and Indians, and never after returned to the bar. He accompanied Sir William Johnson in his expedition against Crown Point, and held the commission of Colonel. He was next to Gen. Johnson in command in the battle which resulted in the total defeat of the army under the Baron Dieskau. His bravery and soldier-like conduct gave him a high reputation, and he ever after enjoyed to an unusual degree the confidence of government and the respect of the troops under him.

The army under Johnson was at the close of the year discharged, and Ruggles returned to his seat at Hardwick. In the campaigns of the two succeeding years, 1756 and '57, he acted with the commission of Colonel.* A demand of 1000 men was made on the counties of Worcester† and Hampshire, and of a portion of these he was appointed to the command. In 1758, he was commissioned a Brigadier General under Lord Amherst, and served under him in his expedition against Canada.

He was appointed one of the Judges of the Common Pleas for the county of Worcester in 1757, and was present at the sittings of the Court during this and the following year: from this time to 1760, with one or two exceptions, he was absent, engaged in the war. In 1762, he was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and continued in that office until the beginning of the Revolution.

The part he took in politics deprived him of his popularity with the whig party, though he was respected and possessed an important influence with the Governor of the province and those justifying the oppressive measures of the British Parliament.

No sooner was the conquest of Canada effected than the American provinces began to feel alarmed at the encroaching power of the parent country. Their charter privileges were violated and the whole country began to be in a ferment. The successful management of the case of "Writs of assistance," by James Otis had made him deservedly popular and gave him the reputation of a most ardent patriot. His powerful opposition with Cushing and others

* Sermon by Eli Forbes of Brookfield, who was Chaplain to Ruggles's Regiment during two campaigns. This sermon is very respectfully dedicated to the Brigadier, and gives a succint account of the war. It was "preached Oct. 9, 1760, being a day of public Thanksgiving for the success of the British arms in North America."

† Minot's Continuation of the History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. 289; and Vol. II. 23.

made him an object of terror to the government party. When in 1762, he was representative from Boston, the venerable ex-President Adams in his letter says: "On that week I happened to be at Worcester attending a Court of Common Pleas of which Brigadier Ruggles was Chief Justice. When the news arrived from Boston (of the election of Otis) you can have no idea of the consternation among the government people. Chief Justice Ruggles at dinner at Col. Chandler's on that day, said, out of this election will arise a damned faction which will shake this province to its foundation."

The intention of Parliament to establish a standing army in the colonies and levy a tax for its support, created great offence. The duties on stamped paper and other articles in 1765, found a violent opposition from the inhabitants of the provinces. At the session of the Legislature in 1765, a committee was appointed, "consisting of members of different parties to consider of the course to be pursued by reason of the burthensome acts of the British Parliament. The result of the deliberations of this committee was, "that the several colonies elect delegates to send to a general congress, which was to meet at New York, on the 1st Tuesday of October, to consult together and to consider of a general and united, dutiful and humble representation of their condition, to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief." This laid the foundation of the American Revolution. The House then proceeded to choose delegates to represent Massachusetts in the proposed convention. James Otis, John Worthington and Oliver Partridge were elected; but Worthington declining to serve, Gen. Ruggles was chosen in his room.

The Congress met at New York, on the 19th of October, 1765, and Gen. Ruggles was appointed President.* Three committees were chosen to draw up petitions to present to the King, Lords and Commons. By two adjournments the results of committees were discussed, and after some alterations, were accepted; and on the 24th the Convention again met to sign the petitions. Nine of the provinces appeared by their delegates and six signed the addresses. South Carolina and Connecticut had instructed their representatives to submit the addresses to the assemblies of each of their provinces for their approval before signing them. New York not approving of the Convention, the committee from that province could not affix their signatures. All the committees, however,

* Hist. Collections, Vol. IV. second series, 262.

sanctioned the proceedings, except Gen. Ruggles, the President, who dissented and refused to sign them.

Governor Burnet, in an official letter respecting the Convention, says, two of three, (meaning Ruggles and Partridge, delegates from Massachusetts) "are fast friends of the government, and prudent and discreet men, such as I am sure, will never consent to any improper application to the government of Great Britain."

At the meeting of the Legislature in February, 1766, a vote of thanks was passed for the services of Otis and Partridge, and at the same time, a vote of censure on Gen. Ruggles for his obstinacy at the Congress. He was accordingly reprimanded in his place by the Speaker. He requested permission to enter his reasons for his conduct, in the Journals of the House, which was granted, but afterwards had leave to withdraw them.

He was a member of the Legislature in 1769. The following anecdote is from Tudor's Otis: "On some question in dispute between the legislature and the Governor, Brigadier Ruggles, the staunch friend of the latter, had delivered a very powerful and ingenious argument, which seemed to make a strong impression on the members. Otis arose after him, and with the fullest tone and most impassioned manner that seemed to arrest the very breathing of the house, begun, "Mr. Speaker, the liberty of this country is gone forever! and I'll go after it." He immediately turned round and walked out of the chamber.

In August, 1774, he was made one of the Council by the King's mandamus and qualified in the same month. The odium under which he rested, from his adherence to the crown, was now increased by this instance of renewed attachment in the acceptance of an office under it. Many of those appointed Counsellors were compelled to decline serving from the ungovernable rage and fury of the people. At Bridgewater, the public displeasure was so great that, when Josiah Edson, one of the Council, and a Deacon of the Church, got up to read a hymn, no one would sing after him. A letter from Taunton,* Aug. 1774, says,-"We hear that Brigadier Ruggles, one of the new made Counsellors, being at Col. Toby's, at Dartmouth, the people assembled there one day this week, and ordered him to depart forthwith; upon which the Col. promised them he should go the next morning by sun an hour high. But before that time the Brigadier's horse had his main and tail cut off, and his body painted all over. Since which he took refuge at Col-

* Massachusetts Spy, for Sept. 1, 1774.

Gilbert's, at Freetown. This morning, about 200 men assembled at the Ware bridge, in this town, and after choosing a moderator, appointed a committee to warn the towns of Swanzey, Raynham, Norton, Mansfield, Attleborough, and Easton, to meet to-morrow, at 8 o'clock, when, it is thought, two or three thousand men will be assembled, from whence they are to proceed to Freetown, to wait on Col. Gilbert, and desire him not to accept the office of high Sheriff under the present administration of the new laws, and that if he should, he must abide the consequences: also to desire Brigadier Ruggles to depart this County immediately. It is more dangerous being a Tory here than at Boston, even if there were no troops there." Another letter, dated at Leicester, says, "The people of this county seem determined to oppose all officers holding commissions otherwise than our Charter directs, and will to the last extremity oppose those unconstitutional acts, and their being executed in this county. I heard there was a number marching to Hardwick, to wait on the Brigadier, the same day they went to Rutland and Worcester." It was reported, however, before they reached his place of residence, that he was absent on a visit, and they desisted. John Murray, Esq. of Rutland, and Mr. Paine, of this town, were both compelled to decline serving as members of the Council.

Soon after this, he went to Boston, and never returned to Hardwick afterwards. When it was understood that he was going to Boston, the people flocked together from the neighboring districts, and assembled at the bridge across Ware river, but whether with a view to resist him or not, is uncertain. The Brigadier rode an elegant black horse, accompanied by his servants, with his sword and pistols by his side. He passed the multitude without any violence or insult offered him. As he rode by the throng, he very civilly, as was his custom, took off his hat and made a low bow, which was as civilly returned.

He remained in Boston during the time that town was occupied by British troops. He afterwards withdrew to Long Island, where he resided a few months, and, finally, went to Halifax, and passed the remainder of his days, at a place called Roseway, where he died in 1798, at the age of 87.

Few men understood better, or estimated more highly the American character than Gen. Ruggles. He applauded the spirit which lead to the Revolution, but regarded the violent efforts practiced to effect a separation of the provinces from the mother coun-

try as impolitic and premature. He was often heard to speak of the event as probable, but observed that it was an event which time alone could determine, and that the colonies would one day fall off from the parent state as ripe fruit from a tree.

On the morning of the battle of Bunker hill, Gen. Gage said to him, that the rebels would disperse at the sight of his cannon; that he should not be under the necessity of discharging a gun: "without discipline, without officers, and under the disadvantage of being engaged in an unjust cause, continued he tauntingly, it is impossible for them to withstand our arms a moment." Ruggles replied with warmth, "Sir, you know not with whom you have to contend. These are the very men who conquered Canada. I fought with them side by side; I know them well; they will fight bravely. My God! Sir, your folly has ruined your cause."

As a public benefactor, Brigadier Ruggles was eminent. No man of his time devoted more attention to the improvement of stock of different kinds than he did. It was a subject in which he took a deep interest, and the result of his labor was highly beneficial to the public. The number of horses he usually kept was about thirty, remarkable for their size and beauty. For this kind of stock he had a peculiar fondness.

He kept a park containing about twenty acres, and between twenty and thirty deer. Although he never hunted himself, he always kept a pack of hounds for the sport and amusement of his friends. His hospitality, with his means of entertainment, gave him numerous visitors from Boston and elsewhere, and the large fortune he inherited from his ancestors, in addition to the money he received from government, enabled him to furnish an elegant table, and extend a prince-like treatment to his guests.

When he left Hardwick, he made no disposition of his property. Five of his farms were confiscated. His estate was large, and almost the whole of it fell into the hands of government. For this loss, however, he was more than indemnified by the King, after his settlement in Nova Scotia.

There are few whose memory has been more traduced than that of Brigadier Ruggles. His name has come down to us as a tory, which, with our republican fathers, was sufficient to justify any reproach. His loyalty and steady adherence to the measures of the British ministry, enkindled the resentments of the people, which could never be extinguished. Anecdotes of him both disgraceful to his memory and inconsistent with his character, have

fort; but during the delay, Dieskau had resolved upon attacking him in his own camp.

The French commander having embarked at Crown Point with his men in batteaux, landed at South Bay. He now determined to lay siege to Fort Edward, and if that fortress should fall into his hands, to proceed direct to Albany and lay that city and Schenectady in ashes. But when he had arrived within two miles of the fort, disclosing to his men his intentions of making an attack, the Indians and Canadians declined, thinking their force inadequate. Being informed by an Englishman that Fort William Henry was a few days before, but imperfectly fortified, they changed their plans, and determined to surprise that fortress.

During these manouvres, Gen. Johnson having learned from his scouts, that the enemy meditated an attack on Fort Edward, despatched messengers to apprise Gen. Lyman of his approach. The messengers had not proceeded but about four miles, when they were intercepted by the enemy and one of them killed; the other returned with intelligence that Deiskau having abandoned the design of an attack on Fort Edward, was then on his march toward William Henry. Johnson ventured to go out and meet him. The command of a thousand men was entrusted to Col. Ephraim Williams, a distinguished officer, to march out and commence the engagement. Deiskau disposed of his forces in an advantageous manner, to receive him. Placing his own troops in the centre, the Indians and Canadians were directed to advance through thick woods on the right and left, and in this manner the English were at once encompassed on all sides. A sharp and bloody conflict ensued. The provincials manifested great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, a retreat was ordered. Col. Williams was among the slain. M. St. Pieere, the Indian agent for the Canadas, was also killed.

The Americans being routed, the French pursued them to their camp, when the whole body of troops on both sides was brought into close combat. Dieskau with his regulars occupied the centre, while the Canadians and Indians hung on the English flanks. The enemy at first maintaining a distant fire, the provincials regained their order and commenced the combat with redoubled fury. The cannon were plied with such success and execution as soon to break the French line and immediately a total rout ensued. The greatest confusion and disorder prevailed throughout the enemies ranks: the slaughter was immense. The Baron was wounded in the leg

and left alone; he was found leaning on a stump, and while searching for his watch* to surrender it, the soldier suspecting him to be looking for his pistol, discharged a musket shot through his hip, and he was conducted a prisoner, mortally wounded, to the American camp.

The importance attached to this victory can be estimated from the great applause bestowed on those effecting it. Gen. Johnson was received at New York, soon after, with great ceremony, and the most flattering attentions paid him. The House of Commons presented him with five thousand pounds sterling in consideration of his important services and the King gave him the title of Baronet. Ruggles being the second in command, was highly commended. His activity and bravery gained for him a high and deserved reputation, and his sovereign George II, regarding his conduct with approbation, bestowed on him a lucrative office, "Surveyor General of the Woods,"† and he ever after manifested the most loyal attachment to the government. B.

FROM THE LONDON NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE BIRDS OF PASSAGE.

BY MRS. HEMANS.

Birds, joyous Birds of wandering wing!
Whence is it ye come with the flowers of Spring!
—"We come from the shores of the green old Nile,
From the land where the roses of Sharon smile,
From the palms that wave through the Indian sky,
From the myrrh-trees of glowing Araby.

"We have swept o'er cities, in song renown'd—
Silent they lie, with the deserts round!
We have cross'd proud rivers, whose tide hath roll'd
All dark with the warrior-blood of old;
And each worn wing hath regain'd its home,
Under peasant's roof-tree, or monarch's dome."

"And what have ye found in the Monarch's dome,
Since last ye traversed the blue-sea's foam."
—"We have found a change, we have found a pall,
And a gloom o'ershadowing the banquet's hall,
And a mark on the floor, as of life-drops spilt—
—Nought looks the same, save the nest we built!"

* This watch is now in the possession of Mr. Pomroy of Northampton.
† Worth £3000 per annum. See Massachusetts Spy for Oct. 6, 1775.

Oh! joyous Birds, it hath still been so!
Through the halls of Kings doth the tempest go!
But the huts of the hamlet lie still and deep,
And the hills o'er their quiet a vigil keep.
Say, what have you found in the Peasant's cot,
Since last ye parted from that sweet spot?

"A change we have found there, and many a change
Faces and footsteps and all things strange!
Gone are the heads of the silvery hair,
And the young that were, have a brow of care,
And the place is hush'd where the children play'd
—Nought looks the same, save the nest we made!"

Sad is your tale of the beautiful earth,
Birds that o'ersweep it in power and mirth!
Yet through the wastes of the trackless air,
Ye have a guide, and shall *we* despair?
Ye over desert and deep have pass'd—
—So shall *we* reach our home at last!

DEATHS SINCE MARCH 22.

Charlton—Jonathan Winslow, 75. Ichabod Tower, 87. Mrs. Susannah Johnson, 27. Wm. K. O'Brien, 32.

Dudley—Mrs. Sylvia Healy, 27. Mrs. Lucy Conant, 82.

Rutland—Mrs. Louisa Munroe, 27. Mrs. Mary Goodrich, 49.

Shrewsbury—Mrs. Lydia Newton, 79. Mrs. Mary Gorham, 63.

Barre—Miss Adeline Woodbury, 16. Mrs. Rebecca Osgood, 37.

Boylston—Jotham Flagg, 26.

Sterling—Miss Caroline Goss, 2.

West Boylston—Artemas Cheney, 8. Miss Mary Gill, 38.

Phillipston—Mrs. Alice Goddard, 75. Miss Nabby Baldwin, 30.

Hubbardston—Philemon Woodard, 77. Levi Greenwood, 68. Widow Margaret Murdock, 84. Widow Ann Goodspeed, 94.

Sturbridge—Abijah Bullard, 51.

Worcester—Mrs. Abiah Hair, 70. Noah Harris, 68. Miss Clarissa Goddard, 25.

Millbury—Sumner Barton, 19. Widow Susannah Blanchard, 74.

Oakham—Widow Neletiah Nye, 86.

West Brookfield—Mathew Wood, 56.

Sutton—Jacob Severy, 91. Mrs. Elizabeth Wheelock, 25. William King, Esq. 91. William Dean, 95.

Ward—Col. Josiah Goulding, 72.

Leicester—Miss Lucretia Waite, 29. Horace W. Whittemore, 2.

Hardwick—Mrs. Rebecca Willis, 78.

Gardner—David Cowee, 81.

Holden—Widow Olive Stratton, 74. Mrs. Rebecca Maynard, 32.

Winchendon—Thomas Greenwood, 75.

Royalston—Amos Jones, 84. Miss Almira Greenwood, 21. Mrs. Sarah W. Batcheller, 42.

Oxford—Mrs. Rebecca Shumway, 82. Jonas Miller, 30.

Templeton—Israel Lamb, 90. Jonathan Phillips, 76.

Northborough—Deacon Isaac Davis, 77.

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

VOL. II. JUNE, 1826. NO. 2.

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE TOWN OF LEICESTER.

THE EDITORS ARE INDEBTED TO EMORY WASHBURN, ESQ. OF LEICESTER, FOR THE FOLLOWING SKETCHES OF THAT TOWN.

In attempting a work like the history of any town in the interior of New England, great difficulties are to be encountered. The records of many are so imperfect, that they often serve rather to perplex, than enlighten the enquirer. Traditions have often become too vague and uncertain to be relied on with any degree of confidence, and the threads by which the labyrinth of events is to be traced, are often broken, or irrecoverably lost.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and discouragements, we have attempted to give, somewhat fully, the description and historical memoranda of the town of Leicester.

We have been prompted to this, more from feelings of local interest and attachment, than from any hope of literary reputation, or, much less, of profit. The graves of our fathers are here; and we felt a curiosity to trace, not only their histories, but also those of all who were their cotemporaries, and acted or suffered with them. We felt desirous of snatching from oblivion, events connected with the history of our country, and preserving the names of men whose merits deserve a place on its pages. We have met with obstacles in accomplishing our task, which we could not surmount, and have often been compelled to present extremely imperfect sketches where justice seemed to require a complete detail. We acknowledge ourselves indebted for many favors in performing the work proposed. Every one whose age gave him a knowledge of events previous to our own day, has been pretty liberally taxed

for the materials of this work. We have also to acknowledge ourselves under obligations to H. G. Henshaw, Esq. for the use of the valuable papers of the late Col. Wm. Henshaw.

We cannot better acknowledge the aid received from the Hon. Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of the Commonwealth, than by transcribing the following letter politely forwarded in answer to enquiries made for information respecting the incorporation of the town of Leicester. "Agreeably to your request, I have examined into the particulars which were wanted respecting Leicester. It appears, as was the case with most towns at that period, that there never was a formal act of Incorporation. The votes by which the settlement was constituted a town, and received its name of Leicester, I have copied, and now transmit to you. In June, 1714, a survey and plan of the town was reported to the General Court by John Chandler, Esq. was accepted, and is on file. I have looked for the old Indian deed, mentioned in the vote of the General Court, but it is not to be found. My copy is exactly correct, unless it should be the Indian names, which it is very difficult to decypher. I believe, however, they are right, or nearly so."

Extract from General Court records, under date of February 15, 1713. "The following order passed; in the House of Representatives, read and concurred: viz. Upon reading a petition of Joshua Lamb, Richard Draper, Samuel Ruggles, Benjamin Tucker, and others, setting forth, that upon the twenty seventh day of January, 1686, for a valuable consideration therefor paid, they purchased of Philip Traye,* and Monckhue,* his wife, John Wanpom,* and Wawonnow,* his wife, and other Indians, the heirs of Oorashoe,* the original Sachem of a place, Towtaid, lying near Worcester, a certain tract of land, containing eight miles square, abutting, southerly on the land which the Governor lately purchased of the Indians, and westerly, the most southerly corner, upon a little pond, called Paupogquincog*; then to a little hill, called Wehapekatonnuc*; and from thence to a little hill, called Aspompok*; and so then easterly, upon a line, until it came against Worcester bounds, and joins unto their bounds; as may be seen more at large by the original deed, executed by the said Indians Proprietors, and acknowledged before the Hon. William Stoughton, Esq. praying confirmation of the said tract of land to them and their associates, that they may be encouraged to proceed forthwith to settle the

* The Indian names designated by an asterisk are difficult to be decypher-ed, and may not be copied with perfect accuracy.

same with inhabitants, under such directions and reservations as shall be thought meet;

Ordered, That the Prayer of the Petitioners be granted; Provided, that within seven years time, fifty families settle themselves in as defensible and regular a way as the circumstances of the place will allow, on part of the said land; and that a sufficient quantity thereof be reserved for the use of a Gospel ministry there, and a school; Provided also, that this interfere with no former grant, and this grant shall not exceed the quantity of eight miles square. The town to be named Leicester, and to belong to the County of Middlesex. Consented to:

J. DUDLEY.

"A true Copy from the proceedings of Council, under date of February 15, 1713, as recorded in Vol. 8, of General Court Records, pages 351–352. Attest,

EDWARD D. BANGS, *Secr'y of the Commonwealth.*"

We are the more gratified in having been favored with the foregoing copy of the record, as we are thus able to correct some errors in dates, into which Mr. Whitney has fallen, in his history of this town. The deed from the Indians we have not been able to find, and as the original grantees never, we believe, removed here, it probably never formed any part of the records of the town.

This tract, thus granted, had been called by the English, who had visited it, "Strawberry Hill," previous to the act of the General Court, above recited.

The particular boundaries of the town were fixed by a special act of the General Court, in January, 1714.*

The proprietors of the township held a meeting, in Boston, on the 23d February, 1713, to take measures to secure their grant, and voted for this purpose to give the eastern half of the town to the first fifty families which should settle there, within the period specified by the act. And in 1722, they again met and authorized Col. Joshua Lamb,† Samuel Green, Nathaniel Kanney, and

* Whitney.

† Col. Joshua Lamb was an enterprising and wealthy citizen, of Roxbury. He was largely interested in the unincorporated lands of the state He, together with others belonging to Roxbury, were at one time proprietors of what is now Hardwick, which, for many years was called after him, *Lambstown*. He never removed to Leicester, but his descendants have resided in Spencer, and one of them, bearing the same name, is at present one of the Selectmen of Leicester.

Samuel Tyler, to execute deeds to the families who had removed to the town, and a deed was accordingly executed on the 8th day of January, 1722, to John Stebbins, and forty six others, which deed is said to be recorded in the Registry of Deeds, for the County of Middlesex, to which county this town then belonged—Book 29, page 329. The measure of the town proved to be what surveyors call "large," and though the western half of it was set off, in 1753, into a town, by the name of Spencer, and two miles in width of its northern part taken off, in 1765, to constitute a part of Paxton, and about 2500 acres again taken off from its southeastern corner, to form a part of the town of Ward, it still contains 14,426 acres.

Many of the original proprietors of the town were the ancestors of families, bearing the same name, now residing here, and among the most respectable in town, some of whose names we may hereafter have occasion to mention.*

Boundaries.—Leicester is bounded, on the north by Paxton, the line dividing which towns runs east, two and one half degrees south, twelve hundred and six rods; east, by the town of Worcester, by a line running south, about fifteen degrees east, and thirteen hundred and eighty four and one half rods on Worcester; southeast by Ward, by a line running east, two degrees fifty minutes north, one hundred and fifty six rods, fifteen links, and north, thirty nine degrees forty five minutes east, two hundred and eighty eight rods, and north, thirty seven and one half degrees east, five hundred and eighty rods†; south, by Oxford north gore and Charlton, by a line running west, one and a quarter degrees north, seven hundred and twenty rods; and west, by Spencer, by a line running north, four degrees west, two thousand and thirty two rods. The town is seven miles from the Court house, in Worcester, in a direction a little south of west. It is forty five miles from Boston, and the same distance from Northampton.

Face of the Country.—This town has been considered remark-

* Among these were Daniel Livermore, (who was the great-grandfather of the present Messrs. Daniel and Salem Livermore,) Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Green, Daniel Denny, David Henshaw, Ralph Earle, and Richard Southgate.

† A part of the line between Ward and Leicester is now in dispute. We give the lines according to a survey, taken in 1794, by vote of the town, by Reuben Swan and Timothy Sprague, and protracted by Mr. Peter Silvester, who has been long engaged as a surveyor in this town.

able for its hilly and uneven surface; this opinion has arisen from the circumstance, that all the principal roads leading through it, have been made over the most considerable elevations of land, and give to the weary traveller the impression that the whole of its territory is of that character. The face of the town is, indeed, uneven, and lying upon the height of land between Boston and Connecticut river, it is quite elevated. Yet there are no very high hills, or abrupt elevations of land above the general surface of the country. Some of the most considerable of the hills have received names by custom and tradition, by which they are usually designated. That upon which the Congregational Meeting House is built, was originally called Strawberry hill, from the abundance of that fruit found there in the early settlement of the town. Another, in the east part of the town, a little north of the "county road," is known by the name of "Indian" or "Bald hill," on account of its having been cleared and planted by the Indians before the white men settled here. The hill about one mile west from the Meeting house, has been, for many years, known by the name of "Mount Pleasant."* It had, within a few years, an elegant house upon it, fitted up as a country seat, by Maj. James Swan, who has long been a state prisoner in France. The seat has now gone greatly to decay, but is still an interesting spot, on account of the extensive and beautiful prospect it enjoys.

Another hill, which is about half a mile north from the Meeting House, has been known by the name of "Carey's hill," from the earliest settlement of the town; and derives its name from that of a hermit, who retired to this spot, long before it was settled by Europeans, and lived in a cave, which he dug in the hill. Who he was, and how much of his story is mere tradition, we are not able to determine. But the well from which he drew his water, the ditch by which he drained his cave, and the stones that helped to form his dwelling, are all visible there at this day. Moose hill is at the northwest corner, and Grass hill at the southwest corner of the town. The views from many of the hills in this town are extremely fine. That from the Mansion house, on the estate which has been in the Denny family since the settlement of the town, embraces nine or ten churches, besides a vast extent of beautiful and fertile country. This landscape has formed a subject for the

* It was first called Mount Pleasant by Lewis Allen, a singular man, who once owned the seat, afterwards Major Swan's. By his own direction, he was buried in his garden, where his tomb is yet visible.

pencil of a native artist, of very considerable merit and reputation, Mr. Ralph Earle,* who had resided many years in England, where he went, together with his brother, to cultivate the natural taste and genius they possessed. This landscape is a very creditable effort at painting of that kind.

SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, &c.—The soil of Leicester is generally deep, and of a strong kind; in its composition, clay rather predominates; and although, at first, wrought with some difficulty, it is capable of becoming fruitful and luxuriant, since it retains the fertilizing effect of proper cultivation for a considerable time. It is rather moist in some parts of the town, and better adapted to grass, which it produces in abundance, than grains; especially those which are called English grains. There are, however, many fine and productive farms in town, and nothing but a proper attention to agriculture is required, to elevate its character as an agricultural district. Mechanical business has, for years, been more productive of profit than agriculture, under any circumstances, could reasonably be expected to be; and in consequence of this, the agricultural interest has been neglected. Within our own recollection, some of the most productive lands at present, were little better than mere wastes, where the briars and bushes were the only productions of the soil.† We mention this circumstance to show, by the result of actual experiment, the capacities of the soil of the town, better than by any general description of its properties we could give. Garden vegetables thrive extremely well, and abundant crops of Indian corn and potatoes reward the labors of the husbandman: and in the north and east parts of the town there are many excellent orchards.

* Ralph, and James Earle, were grandsons of that Ralph Earle who was one of the original settlers of the town. Their father's name was Ralph, who lived in what is now Paxton, on the place owned by Mr. Joseph Penniman. Ralph was made a member of the Royal Academy, in London. Both he, and James, excelled as much in portrait painting, as in landscape and historical pieces. The "Falls of Niagara," by Ralph, among his largest works, has been admired as one of much merit. Towards the close of his life, his habits became irregular, and it was only at intervals, that his fine genius exhibited itself, and then, always to the delight of every one. He died at Lansinburgh, N. Y. and his brother James, at Charleston, S. C. Both left families, but only the son of Ralph, bearing the same name, inherited the peculiar genius of his ancestors.

† We cannot forbear noticing the great improvements which have recently been made in the lands near the village, by Mr. Alpheus Smith, Dr. Austin Flint, and others. Within a few years, the bushes entirely covered those fields which now produce so luxuriantly. A similar effect would result to most of the lands in town, by applying to them the same skill and persevering industry.

RIVERS, PONDS, &c.—This town is well watered, although there is no stream of any great magnitude flowing through it. The sources of several streams are within this town, which, taking different directions, pour its waters into the Atlantic by the Blackstone, the Thames, and the Connecticut. So slight are the barriers that separate the waters of some of these streams, that, about a quarter of a mile east of the Meeting House, where the county road passes through an apparently level meadow, the water that runs from the north side flows into the Blackstone, while that from the south runs into the Thames. And, in the west part of the town, about two miles from the Meeting House, the water running from the north side of the same road, flows into the Connecticut, and that from the south side into the Thames.

There are two natural ponds of considerable magnitude here; one, containing about sixty acres, situate about a mile southeast of the Meeting House, called the Henshaw pond; and the other, containing about eighty acres, called the North, or Shaw pond, in the northwest part of the town. The waters of the last pond are discharged at its southwest corner, and flow into the Chickapee river, forming one of its sources. There is, besides these, an artificial pond, in the southwest part of the town, called the "Burnt-coat," containing about one hundred and twenty five acres. The courses of the streams, except that from north pond, are generally towards the southeast. One of these rises in a swamp between Leicester and Paxton, and, running south, about half a mile west of the Meeting House, where it is called the "Rawson Brook,"* it receives the waters that flow from the Burnt-coat pond, about five miles from its source; thence, running southeasterly, it receives the waters of a brook coming in from the west, which has its source in Spencer, and afterwards receives the waters from the Henshaw pond, which flow from the northeast, at the Leicester and Saxon Factories, on the Stafford Turnpike, where it is called "French river;" then running southwardly through Oxford, it forms a part of the Quineboag river, which empties into the Thames, at Norwich. This unites a great proportion of the waters that flow

* It derived this name from that of the owner of the farm through which it flowed, near the village, in Leicester. This was Edward Rawson, Esq. who removed here from Mendon. He was, for a long time, an officiating magistrate in the County, and filled many responsible public stations in the town. He died at the advanced age of 87, in 1807, leaving one daughter. A son of his was once a practising Physician here, but died, early in life, many years before the death of his father.

through the town. There is, however, a considerable stream that rises in Paxton, and flows through the east part of this town, into Ward, and there falls into the Blackstone. It is called "Kettle Brook," and affords sufficient water power to carry a grist mill and saw mill, two woollen factories, and another grist mill, built upon it in this town. From the nature of the country, these streams present fine privileges for the erection of mills, wherever they are of sufficient magnitude to ensure a permanent supply of water. These have been mostly occupied, and there are, at present, upon the French river, and its branches, within the limits of this town, five saw mills, two grist mills, one tannery, two scythe manufactories, one card manufactory, and one extensive woollen manufacturing establishment; while, on the stream flowing from the North Pond, there are a grist mill, and two wire manufactories.

Population.—The population of this town has gradually increased in numbers from its settlement till the present time; but much more rapidly of late, than at any former period, on account of the manufacturing establishments, from which a large number find employment and support. We do not possess documents to ascertain the precise numbers of Inhabitants in the town at the different periods of its history; nor do we deem these very important facts. At its first settlement it contained fifty families. In 1786, there were 838 inhabitants, of whom, 24 were negroes. In 1810, there were 1181; in 1820, 1252, and, at present, the town probably contains 1500 inhabitants; of whom, there are not more than 3 or 4 blacks.* In 1781, there were 102 effective men on the rolls of the militia companies, and 49 conditional exempts, and at present, there are about 200 men borne on the rolls of these companies.†

The population, as we remarked, has increased rapidly in this town within the last few years, and promises to increase still far-

* The population of this town includes, at present, three ministers of the Gospel, two Physicians, two Preceptors of the Academy, and two practising Counsellors and Attorneys at Law. Of the Clergymen, we shall hereafter speak. The Physicians are Austin and Edward Flint, the latter a son of the former. The Attorneys at Law are the Hon. Nathaniel P. Denny, who was the first Attorney that established himself here, and Emory Washburn. Bradford Sumner, Esq. now of Boston, was in business here, as an Attorney at Law, from 1812 till his removal to Boston, in 1820.

† The first regimental review of the regiment to which these companies are attached, was, we believe, in 1785. The Regiment then included within its limits, the towns of Holden, Paxton, Spencer, Leicester, Ward and Worcester. It was divided in 1811, and Worcester and Holden taken from it. The regiment when reviewed in 1785 was commanded by Col. Seth Washburn. At present Lieut. Col. Stone of Ward is its commander.

ther, as new sources of wealth and support are opening to its inhabitants from time to time. A considerable proportion of this population derives its support, directly, or indirectly, from mechanical and manufacturing establishments, in which many of them are engaged.

MANUFACTURES, TRADE, &c.—The manufactures consist chiefly of cards and woollen cloths, although the more common establishlishments for the manufacture of leather, scythes, and the like, are by no means inconsiderable. There are five Blacksmith's shops, in which from eight to twelve men are employed in the ordinary business of that trade. There are from ten to twenty persons employed in manufacturing shoes for the ordinary consumption of the inhabitants of the town. In addition to these, there are two hatter's shops, two wheelwrights, two bookbinderies, one clock and watch maker, and one cabinet and chair manufactory.

There are five tanneries, in which leather to the amount of $10,000, at least, is annually manufactured; and the amount of scythes annually made here is about $2000.

The manufacture of cloths was commenced here by Mr. Samuel Watson, in 1814, about one and an half miles east of the Meeting House, on the "Kettle Brook." His establishment was small, and the business, soon afterwards, becoming rather unproductive, he was induced to part with the possession of it, for a few years, to Mr. James Anderton, a native of Lancashire, in England, an enterprising manufacturer, who, in the year 1821, purchased the privilege now occupied by the Leicester and Saxon factories, on the French River, where a small cotton factory had been previously erected. He then made over his interest on the Kettle Brook to a countryman of his, Thomas Bottomly, who occupied the same until 1825, when, having erected a new factory a short distance below the former one, he surrendered up the former estate to Mr. Watson again, who now occupies the same. The privilege on French River proving to be a valuable one, and Mr. Anderton, from an unfavorable turn of times, being unable to occupy the whole of it profitably, a company was formed, and incorporated in 1823, called the "Leicester Manufacturing Company," to whom he disposed of his interest in the privilege, and became a member of the corporation. This company afterwards united, and was incorporated, with the Saxon Factory, in Framingham, under the style of the Saxon and Leicester Factories. This establishment, in Leicester, consists at present of three factory buildings, the largest of

which is 100 by 40 feet, and 4 stories in height, a dye house, store, eleven dwelling houses, and is now constantly increasing. About 150 persons are employed in and around the establishment, and 100 yards of Broadcloths are manufactured per day. We have been more particular in describing these establishments, although, when compared with others in the country, they may seem unimportant, because they have grown up within a short period of time, and the success which has, on the whole, attended them, so clearly illustrates, what was once a somewhat doubtful problem, the policy of encouraging our domestic manufactures. We have also another object in view; to preserve the names of those, to whose skill and enterprise the town is indebted for a part of its prosperity.

The manufacture of cotton and wool machine, and hand cards, has been carried on extensively, for a much greater length of time than that of cloths. It was commenced here about the year 1785, by Mr. Edmund Snow, and amongst those most early engaged in its prosecution, was Mr. Pliny Earle, who still carries on the business. About the year 1790, Mr. Samuel Slater, the venerable originator of cotton factories in the United States, and to whom the country owes so much of its wealth and prosperity, having in vain endeavored to procure suitable cards for his machinery, in the principal cities of the union, applied to Mr. Earle, for the purpose of procuring some cards of him. Machine cards had, till then, been made in the manner called by manufacturers "plain." A part of the cards used on a machine is called "filleting," and this part it was desirable to have made, what is termed, "twilled." For this purpose, Mr. Earle was obliged to prick the whole of the filleting with two needles, inserted into a handle, in the manner of an awl. This process was extremely tedious; but Mr. Earle, at length, completed his undertaking, and furnished to Mr. Slater the cards by which the first cotton was wrought, that was spun by machinery in America. The difficulty with which he accomplished this engagement, led his attention to the invention of a machine by which to prick the leather for cards; and about the year 1797, he accomplished his desired object by inventing the machine, now in general use, for the manufacture of "twilled" cards.* Since this

* Pliny Earle is the great grandson of Ralph Earle, one of the first settlers of the town, and possesses much of the mechanical ingenuity, in addition to a great fund of general knowledge, which has seemed to characterise those of that name in this town. Mr. Thomas Earle, who recently died here, was honorably noticed by Whitney, in his history, and others of the name also deserve a notice, which our limits will not permit us to give.

invention, and other improvements in machinery, the business of manufacturing cards has regularly progressed, and it was carried to great perfection here, while many of the other manufactures were yet in their infancy. A few cards had been made in Boston, and some other places in the United States, before they were manufactured here. We believe, that the first considerable establishment ever carried on for this purpose in the country, was in this town. Our limits would not permit us, even if we were able, to trace the improvements in the machinery by the means of which this business is carried on; though we may be permitted, we hope, to mention a valuable machine for shaving, or splitting leather, invented by the late John Woodcock, of this town; by the operation of which, leather may be prepared of any thickness desired, with great facility. A patent was procured for this invention, but difficulties arose under it, and manufacturers alone have reaped the benefit of it. There are ten establishments for the manufacture of Cards here, and more than $200,000 in value are manufactured annually. In most of these establishments, the machinery is carried by hand power; but in Mr. Earle's, before mentioned, steam has been successfully employed, and in the extensive Factory of Messrs. J. & J. A. Smith, & Co. a part of the machinery is carried by water power. The business has been found lucrative and many of our wealthiest and most respectable men have been engaged in it, and not a little of the relative wealth and importance of the place can be traced to this business as its source.

There are Stores of goods connected with many of these manufacturing establishments, and there are two Stores in the village unconnected with them. Besides these, there are two small Book Stores in town, connected with the binderies which supply the ordinary wants of the people. Manufactures, especially Cards, may be considered our staple; and there is scarcely a state in the union that is not, to some extent, supplied with these from this town.

To facilitate the transaction of the business of the town, a Bank with a capital of $100,000 was chartered at the last session of the Legislature. It has not yet gone into operation, but the Directors and President of the institution were elected on the 26th April, 1826, when John Clapp, Esq of Leicester, was chosen its first President.

Highways.—The great post road from Boston to Albany passes through the centre of this town. It is one of the most travelled and important roads in the interior of New England, and was, until

within a few years, the route of the commercial Mail between Boston and New York. This road was laid out as early, if we mistake not, as 1722, it being petitioned for in that year, and the town appropriated £12 2s for their share of the expense in making it, and in 1725, were indicted at the Quarter Sessions in Middlesex, for not having a bridge over Seven Mile River, which is supposed to have been the stream now called by the same name, in the western part of Spencer. The road is called in the petition the "country road," and always bears that name when referred to in the early records of the town. When first laid out through what is now the village, it passed north of its present location, running north of the Academy, near the dwelling house of the Rev. David Parsons, the first minister of the town, which stood north west of the Academy, the cellar of which house is yet visible: Passing across the present common lands, east of the meeting house, it came into the road as it now is, west of the meeting house. Other alterations in this highway, and some of them recent, have been made for the benefit of the traveller, which we will not describe, nor should we have said thus much upon so unimportant a subject, had not the early establishment of this highway seemed to make it a subject of historical interest. In 1806, the Worcester and Stafford turnpike was laid out through the south part of this town: it is upon this, that the commercial Mail is now carried. Besides these roads, there is one running from Paxton to Charlton and Oxford, through the centre of this town: and another, running from Worcester to New Braintree, through the north part. There is a large number of roads leading from this to the neighboring towns, and from one part of this to another, making, in the whole, more than sixty miles of highway, supported at the expense of the town, and kept in repair by an annual tax of, at least, $1000.

To those who only know this town in its present state, with its large and beautiful village, and the grounds around it highly cultivated and productive, it may be amusing to recur to its state in 1721, when the highway to what is now Paxton was laid out. It began by the then meeting house, at a black birch, standing by a great red oak, behind the meeting house, and close by the same, and run thence, by marked trees, through the forest then covering the region around. That forest has disappeared with the hardy race of men who first disturbed its solitudes, and it is difficult for the imagination, when gazing on the fields now waving with rich harvests, to go back to the times when the haunts of the savage and the

wild beast were here, and a cheerless wilderness alone met the eye.

Schools, Academy, &c.—Although the inhabitants of this town, at its first settlement, were at comparatively great expense to support the institutions of the gospel, they were not unmindful of the importance of common schools. Within ten years from the settlement of the place, if not sooner, schools were established in three parts of the town, and were kept by one teacher, who was employed at the expense of the inhabitants. About the year 1732, these schools were, for some reason, discontinued; but the Quarter Sessions with becoming, though somewhat singular vigilance, discovered this omission of duty on the part of the inhabitants, and caused them to be presented, in 1733, for their neglect. Schools, from that time, have been regularly kept; nor were they suspended, even during the struggle for our independence; although it seemed as if the last remnant of convertible property had been contributed to aid on that cause. Our ancestors knew, that in order for their sons to retain the independence for which they were struggling, they must be enlightened and instructed. In 1733, a master of a "writing and reading school" was employed for three months, at the rate of £4 10s per month. During all this time, the schools had been kept at private houses, and, in 1736, a school house was first erected. It was 20 by 16 feet in dimensions, and stood about ten rods north of the then meeting house, which was a little south of the place where the present one stands. In 1745, schools were kept in seven different places in town, but all by one man, and £100, old tenor, was appropriated for their support. In 1750, nine men were chosen to superintend the schools and were directed "to procure a grammar school master as soon as may be." Mr. John Cobb had been the school master the preceding year, and had been allowed £125, old tenor. The schools, this year, were kept in three places at the same time, each for the term of six weeks. During this time, Spencer had been a parish of Leicester. In 1765, the town was divided into five school districts, and school houses built in each. There have been too many changes in respect to these districts, since that time, to warrant a detail of them here. At present, they are nine in number, and the whole number of scholars entitled by law to attend these schools, may be estimated at about 750. The sum annually raised for the purpose of schooling is, at present, $600, and the compensation usually given to teachers has been from $10 to $20 per month to men, and from $4 to $7 per month to ladies.

Our common schools have ever been justly reckoned amongst the most important institutions of our country. Indeed, they may be considered as at the foundation of every thing valuable in our institutions. From these fountains of knowledge, open to all, without distinction of sex or condition, intelligence is diffused through the community, and with it, a love of country and an attachment to her institutions. The importance of these schools has been appreciated here, and the appropriations for their support have usually been liberal, when compared with those of towns of equal wealth and magnitude.

The people of this town are favored with opportunities for a higher education than is to be obtained in common schools, by means of the very respectable Academy located here. It is one of the oldest Academies in the state, and the character of its instruction is elevated and liberal. It was incorporated under the name of Leicester Academy, March 23, 1784. It owes its foundation to the generosity and public spirit of Col. Jacob Davis, and Col. Ebenezer Crafts, whose munificence was suitably acknowledged in the act of Incorporation. The liberality of these gentlemen, one of them resident in Charlton, and the other in Sturbridge, deserves the gratitude of posterity.* They purchased the commodious Dwelling House, then recently occupied by Aaron Lopez, and its appendages, together with an acre of land, which they conveyed to the Trustees of Leicester Academy, "in consideration of the regard they bear to virtue and learning, which they consider greatly conducive to the welfare of the community." The value of this estate was $1716, and was situated directly in front of the present Academy buildings. During the same year, (1784,) Dr. Austin Flint, who has ever been a firm patron of the institution, and whose name would fill a larger space in our history than we are allowed to give it, if we were at liberty to follow the dictates of our own feelings, conveyed one hundred and twenty four square rods of land to said trustees, "in consideration of a desire to encourage the Academy." The liberality thus exhibited towards this institution,

* Col. Davis was a native of Oxford, but, at the time of his donation to the Academy, he resided in Charlton, where he owned a valuable estate, adjacent to the estate of his brother, the late Ebenezer Davis, Esq. deceased. He afterwards removed to Montpelier, in Vermont, of which he was a considerable proprietor, and was the first white settler of any respectability in that town, now the seat of Government of Vermont. Col. Crafts commanded the first regiment of Cavalry ever raised in this county. He removed from Sturbridge to the town of Craftsbury, Vermont, where he died. His son, Samuel C. Crafts, who prepared for College at this Academy, was, for many years, a member of Congress from Vermont.

was also manifested by many other public spirited gentlemen in the County. The town of Leicester, in its corporate capacity, gave £500 "consolidated securities." The Hon. Moses Gill gave £150: Thomas Denny, and Thomas Newhall, of Leicester, Gen. Rufus Putnam, of Rutland, and Jedathan Baldwin, of Brookfield, each gave the sum of £100: Mr. Reuben Swan gave £50: John Southgate, and Samuel Denny, of Leicester, and the Hon. Joseph Allen, Esq. of Worcester, and Timothy Bigelow, Esq. each gave £30: and Isaiah Thomas, L. L. D. gave the sum of £20. Donations were also made by Samuel Green, and Samuel Green, Jr. Peter Taft, Capt. William Watson, and Samuel Watson, of Leicester; Timothy Paine, Esq. and Phinehas Jones, of Worcester; Caleb Ammidown, of Charlton, and John Pierce. Of the original subscriptions, the sum of $2890 was raised within the town of Leicester, and $1610 by donations from abroad. Besides these, the state granted to the Academy a township of land in Maine, and a grant to raise $2000 by a lottery in 1785, to repair their buildings. The late Hon. Mr. Gill, was ever a great benefactor to the institution, and gave, in addition to his former donation, a quantity of Books, for which he paid £30 sterling, in England, for the use of the students in the Academy. In 1811, Col. Thomas Newhall, who had been one of its earliest and firmest supporters, died, and left by his will a legacy of $1000 to this institution, and the interest of another thousand, to be annually expended in defraying the tuition of those families in town, who reside more than a mile from the Academy. In 1819, Stephen Salisbury, Esq. and the Hon. Dwight Foster, each gave the sum of $50, and five individuals in Leicester, in 1820, and 1822, gave a sum equal to $583. These were Alpheus Smith, Hon. Nathaniel P. Denny, Henry Sargent, Austin Flint, and James Smith, Esquires. In 1824, the Commonwealth made a donation of a small farm in Paxton, estimated at $400. In 1823, Capt. Israel Waters, of Charlton, who had been long known as a man interested in public institutions, left, at his death, most of his estate to the trustees of this Academy, for the support of a teacher, under the restrictions and limitations of the devise. The exact amount to be realized from this estate has not yet been ascertained, but is estimated at eight thousand dollars.

The available funds of the institution, exclusive of the buildings, occupied for the schools, was, in May, 1825, $10,655; which, added to the Waters donation, places this institution on a respectable and independent foundation. It has ever enjoyed in a good degree

the public favor and confidence and the high character of its trustees and instructors has deserved that confidence.

The first meeting of the trustees was held, April 7, 1784, and the Hon. Moses Gill was elected President of the board: which then consisted of Ebenezer Crafts, and Jacob Davis, Esquires, Hon. Moses Gill, Hon. Levi Lincoln, Hon. Joseph Allen, Hon. Samuel Baker, Hon. Seth Washburn, Rev. Benjamin Conklin, Gen. Rufus Putnam, Rev. Joshua Paine, of Sturbridge, Rev. Joseph Pope, Rev. Archibald Campbell, Hon. Timothy Danielson, of Brimfield, and Rev. Joseph Sumner, D. D. of Shrewsbury. The Hon. Levi Lincoln succeeded Mr. Gill as President, and was succeeded by Dr. Sumner, whose successor was the Rev Dr. Bancroft, who now presides over that board, alike honorably to himself and usefully to the institution.

There has usually been a principal and assistant teacher in this Academy: though, about 1789, the funds of the institution became embarrassed, on account of the depreciated state of the currency, and one instructor only was employed, and his salary in that year was paid out of the treasury of the town. For many years, two instructors have been employed, and, at times, three. There has been a succession of highly respectable men as Preceptors of this Academy, the whole number of whom our limits will not permit us individually to mention. The first in order was Mr. Benjamin Stone,* whose assistant was Mr. Thomas Payson. After a succession of Preceptors, Mr. Ebenezer Adams, took charge of the Institution, in 1792, and continued in that office till 1806, when he resigned it. As a teacher, his character was almost unrivalled. For the fourteen years he continued in that employment, he was uniformly respected and esteemed, as well by his pupils, as by the inhabitants of the town, and when he left, he bore with him the highest testimonials of the regret of the trustees at his surrender of a place he had so usefully filled.† Among those whose names we would mention with respect, as having officiated as teachers in this Academy, are the Rev. Dr. Pierce now of Brookline, Drs. Jackson and Shattuck of Boston, Chief Justice Richardson, of New Hamp-

* Mr. Stone was a native of Shrewsbury, where he now resides. He graduated at Cambridge, in 1776, and studied the profession of Theology, but was never settled over any society.

† Mr. Adams was a native of New Ipswich, in N. H. He graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1791. In 1809, he was appointed to the professorship of Languages in that institution, and subsequently, to that of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, which he now fills with honor, fidelity, and usefulness.

shire, and the Hon. Timothy Fuller, of Cambridge, men of reputation too high either to need, or be advanced by encomiums of ours. The late eminent and lamented Bishop Dehon, of Charleston, S. C. was a preceptor here, in 1796.* Mr. Adams was succeeded by the late Rev. Dr. Moore, and he by the Rev. Luther Wilson, now of Petersham, whose successor was the Rev. Josiah Clark, of Rutland. The present principal instructor of the Academy is, Mr. John Richardson: the preceptor of the English department, Mr. Increase S. Smith.

In 1824, a respectable Philosophical apparatus was procured in London, through the agency of the Rev. Dr. Prince, of Salem, by individuals of the town of Leicester, and given to the Academy.

This institution may now deservedly claim a high rank among those of our country. The salaries to its officers are liberal; it is located in the centre of a rich and populous county, and in a situation pleasant, healthy, and retired from the confusion and dissipation of the dense population of a large town. The situation of the Academy building is high, and commands a fine prospect. The exterior of the building is neat and well proportioned; its interior commodious and well designed. It is three stories high, with sixteen lodging rooms or parlors, besides a dining hall, library, school room, and chapel, and cost between eight and nine thousand dollars. It was intended to accommodate the students with commons, if desired, and a steward occupies a portion of the building for this purpose. Connected with the Academy, is a literary society of the students, possessed of a considerable library.

This was, for many years, the only Academy in the County of Worcester, and is among the oldest in the State: Though our detail of its history may have been tedious, the importance of the subject which seemed to require it, must be our apology.

There are no other literary institutions in town. There are two or three Social Libraries, containing, in the whole, about a thous-

* Bishop Dehon was a native of Boston, and was born Dec. 8, 1776. He entered Harvard University at the age of 14 years, and graduated in 1795. The next year, though but 19 years old, he was employed in the English department of Leicester Academy, and there won the respect and esteem of every one connected with the institution. He was admitted to the order of Priest in 1800, and took charge of the Church in Newport, R. I. where he was remarkably popular and acceptable as a preacher. His ill health, in 1809, induced him to become rector of St. Michael's Church, in Charleston, S. C. In 1812, he was unanimously elected Bishop of the Diocess of South Carolina, which office he sustained till his death, August 6, 1817, when he fell a victim to the yellow fever. He died at the age of 41, and of him, it might with propriety be said, "his epitaph should be his name alone."

and volumes of well selected books. The people would be far from being inclined to boast of the effect of these institutions for the promotion of knowledge. The effect of them has been rather to give a good education to many, than to educate a few at the expense of others. Although a majority of the inhabitants in town have, at one time or other, availed themselves of the benefits of the Academy here, there have not more than eight persons graduated from any College, who were natives of the town, since the year 1784, and of these, not one studied theology.

Ecclesiastical History.—As we have already observed, the records of the town do not go back beyond March, 1721, and the records of the church, as distinguished from those of the town, have not been preserved till within thirty years. In consequence of this, it is impossible to learn when the Congregational Church here was first formed. That it had been formed before March 30th, 1721, appears probable: since, at a town meeting then held, the question of settling Mr. David Parsons, as pastor was acted upon. He had, before that time, received a call to settle as their clergyman, and then gave his answer, accepting their invitation. He was the first clergyman of the town, and was installed in September, 1721. He had been previously, settled in Malden, and dismissed from that people. The terms of his settlement here were, that he should receive a gratuity of £100, be removed, with his family, from Malden, at the expense of the town, and be paid £75 salary per annum. For an additional encouragement, the town gave him forty acres of land in rear of the meeting house, and outlands enough to make up 100 acres. The unanimity of the people on this occasion in addition to the circumstances that some, at least, of his former people, removed with him to Leicester, promised that his connexion with this society would be useful and happy. But it proved far otherwise. He was a man of strong passions, and after a few years, there was very little disposition manifested by many of his people, to quell these passions, when excited. What originated these difficulties it would perhaps be impossible now to ascertain. The embarrassed and straitened circumstances of the people of the town might have been a cause of their neglecting to pay him his annual salary according to contract. In consequence of this neglect, he complained to the Quarter Sessions, in 1728. To this complaint the town made defence, and a long and unhappy lawsuit ensued. It is impossible, and would certainly be unprofitable, to trace the progress of these domestic difficulties. Such, howev-

er, was the state of public feeling, in 1729, that the town voted not to support him any longer as their minister, to join with the church in deposing him; and chose a committee to supply the pulpit. But ecclesiastical contracts were not then so easily severed. This step by one of the contracting parties was inoperative, and the other was not inclined to recede from the strong ground he had taken. Even while the complaint before the Quarter Sessions was pending, he commenced a civil action for the arrears of his salary. These difficulties, at length, became so ruinous to the peace of the town and oppressive to its inhabitants, that they petitioned the Legislature, in 1731, for some relief in the matter, and a paper containing the names of each person in town, in favor and against Mr. Parsons, subscribed by each, was presented to his Excellency, the Governor, (Belcher) to inform him of the actual state of public sentiment upon the subject, and two agents were appointed to offer it. A resolve, in favor of releasing the town from their obligation any longer to support their minister, passed the House of Representatives and the Council, but the Governor refused to sign it. Judgment having been rendered against the town, by the Quarter Sessions, and the Governor, though twice petitioned, refusing to sign the resolves, the town petitioned the Legislature for leave to appeal from the judgment of the Court, "so that they might have a trial in the common law." But this petition failed, on account of the Legislature's being suddenly prorogued, and the town were again called together to revive this petition, in the hope "of being relieved" in the words of the warrant, "from Mr. Parsons' *bondage*." But by one of those sudden fluctuations in public opinion, which are sometimes observed in popular governments, the popular feeling was now turning in favor of Mr. Parsons. The vote dismissing him was reconsidered, his arrears of salary voted, and the Selectmen left to pay the fines assessed upon them by the Quarter Sessions, in consequence of a second complaint of Mr. Parsons, for their neglect in seeing him paid. These votes were, however, said to have been surreptitiously obtained, and produced much excitement.

These facts are detailed, rather as a sample of the mode of proceeding, at that day, in cases of disagreement between a people and their minister, and the disposition of the civil authorities to support ecclesiastical power, than because any interest can be felt in them so long after their occurrence. The differences between Mr. Parsons and his people, did not subside here. They at

length became so notorious, that six gentlemen from Worcester voluntarily assumed the character of mediators and visited the town for that purpose. A public entertainment was provided for them, but their efforts had no success and there was no cessation of hostilities till the town voted to join with the church in calling an eclesiastical council to discharge him from being their minister. This was on the 13th January, 1735, and he was dismissed, March 6th of the same year from his connexion with the church and society in this town. He continued to reside here till his death in 1737. He was by his special direction buried on his own land, apart from the graves of his people. He was unwilling that his ashes should repose by the side of those with whom he had once worshipped in the sanctuary and to whom he had broken the consecrated bread; his grave is now visible in a mowing field, about 30 rods north of the meeting house—a monument of human frailty. The long continued difficulties, of which we have given an outline, were too important a subject in so young and thinly populated a town to be soon forgotten. They are still handed down by tradition and form anecdotes illustrative of the times in which they occurred. We forbear repeating these, or dwelling any longer upon the character of one, who, with all his frailties, had many redeeming qualities. He left a family, from which have sprung many, who, in later times, have been distinguished for their learning, usefulness and talents, and have been among the most respectable citizens of their day.

After the dismission of Mr. Parsons, preaching was supported for a time, by contributions taken up on each Sabbath, and a Mr. Rice employed for a while. In 1735, the church and society set apart a day for fasting and prayer, for directions in regard to a successor to Mr. Parsons. And on the 30th January, 1736, they gave a *call* to Mr. David Goddard, who was a native of Framingham, to settle here, and voted him £300 settlement, and £100 salary, so long as he remained their minister. Mr. Goddard accepted this invitation, and in a short and pertinent answer, expressed his wish that the church should be governed according to the rules of the "Cambridge platform," adopted by the New England churches, in 1648. His salary, while their minister, was often in arrear; but his connexion with his people was uniformly happy and satisfactory, and an addition of £50 per annum was voluntarily made to his salary for several years. He was ordained over the society, June 30, 1736, and died January 19, 1754, at Framingham, where he was seized with a fever, when on a journey. He had been a min-

ister of this church but 13 years, and was 48 years of age, at the time of his death. He alone, of the five clergymen who were settled here, previous to the present one, died in the ministerial service of the society; all the others were dismissed from their connexion.

In July, 1736, Mr. Joseph Roberts, Jr. was invited to settle as the minister over this society, accepted the invitation, and was ordained, October 23, 1754. The town voted to give him £133, 6*s.* 8*d.* silver money, "as a settlement," and £66, 13*s.* 8*d.* per annum, salary, in silver money, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce. The salaries before this time had been paid according to the currency of the day, which was often so depreciated, that what seems at first a large sum, was greatly reduced by this depreciation. Provision was made at his ordination to entertain "ministers, messengers, and scholars."*

Although settled under favorable auspices, the relation of Mr. Roberts to the town soon became unpleasant. The precise causes of the disaffection do not appear, but they had become so strong in 1762, that the society voted to concur with the church in calling a council to settle the difficulties that there existed. The meeting of the inhabitants was called by personal notice to each. They made provision to entertain the council, though they declined taking part in drawing up a list of grievances which the church was going to present to the council. The council met, and recommended a dissolution of the connexion between Mr. Roberts and his people, and on the 14th day of December, 1762, he was accordingly dismissed. This did not, by any means, comport with Mr. Roberts' feelings, but it put an end to the difficulties between him and the people of the town, as he removed soon after from Leicester into Western, or its vicinity, where he died within a few years, at a very advanced age. He lived while a minister here, in the west part of the town, where he owned a considerably extensive tract of land. He was a bachelor, and was possessed of a good estate. Money seems to have been his favorite object, and his reply to the invitation of the society, to become their minister, is a singular specimen of professed devotedness to God and his service, and actual sordidness and avarice.

* From the death of Mr. Goddard, till the settlement of Mr. Roberts, the town had been supplied with preaching, and the sum of £17½ was now appropriated to pay those who had entertained the preachers, while the greater sum of £18 was appropriated to defray the expense of keeping their horses during the same time.

Although the Society were unfortunate in having to provide themselves again with a clergyman within so short a time, they were happy in obtaining one who united them again as a religious society. In August, 1763, Mr. Benjamin Conklin was invited to settle as a minister over the society, and was ordained, November 23, of the same year. His salary was the same as that given to Mr. Roberts, and at his ordination, provision was made to entertain "Ministers, scholars, and *gentlemen*." His relation of minister to this church and society continued till June 30, 1794, when his growing bodily infirmities induced him to accept a proposal from the society for his dismission, by giving him a gratuity of £170, and an exemption from taxation. The society, at the time of dissolving the connexion between them, expressed to him their thanks for his useful and arduous services, and their sympathies for his declining health and increasing infirmities. The council that dismissed Mr. Conklin, consisted of the Rev. Drs. Sumner, Bancroft, and Austin, and in the result of their proceedings, they bore most unqualified testimony to his high character as a clergyman and a citizen. He survived until January 30, 1798, when he died, at the age of 65. A plain headstone, in the burying ground, in Leicester, bears this inscription, which he had selected for the purpose in his life time. "Hic jacet, Benjamin Conklin, M. in expectatione diei supremi. Qualis erat, dies iste indicabit." He married the widow of Dr. Lawton, who had been a practicing physician in this town. He left three children, one only of whom survives. He was a native of Southold, on Long Island, and was graduated at Princeton College, in New Jersey. He came here when about thirty years of age, and was a minister of this society for more than thirty years, including the trying period of the Revolution, and the troublesome times of the insurrection, known under the name of "Shay's war." It is most conclusive evidence of his prudence and firmness, that during the whole time he officiated here, he was acceptable to his people, and every attempt by disaffected individuals to remove him was controlled and defeated by his society. Though never distinguished for brilliancy of talents, he was a respectable preacher, and ever possessed a commanding influence among his people. He was a firm friend of his country, and never hesitated, even at the darkest period of her history, to avow the sentiments which he entertained. In one of the neighboring towns, it was thought by some of the people, that their clergyman did not preach strongly enough in favor of the cause of liberty; "then," said he, "I will

exchange with Mr. Conklin, and he will satisfy you, I am sure." He was also a decided friend of the government during the insurrection of 1786, and became obnoxious to the insurgents, on account of his active exertions to support the laws and the government, and in one or more instances was obliged to seek a refuge away from his house from personal violence from the insurgents. In his person, Mr. Conklin was rather above the middling stature, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. His address was easy and familiar, and his conversation abounded with anecdote. He, at times, indulged in humor, of which he possessed a considerable share. He was pleasing and interesting without being brilliant, and useful and instructive without being great. He performed the duties of his station honorably and acceptably, and among the patriots of the revolution, he deservedly held a very respectable place.

After the dismission of Mr. Conklin, Mr. James Tufts was employed to preach as a candidate by this society, and a majority of them desired to settle him, and accordingly gave him an invitation to that effect. But a few of the society dissenting from him in religious sentiments, he declined accepting the invitation. He afterwards became, and we believe still is, the minister of Wardsboro', in Vermont.

In 1795, the Rev. Jesse Appleton preached here as a candidate for settlement. He was, at that time, very young, and though not very popular at first, he became very acceptable to all, and strong efforts were made to induce him to settle. But though unanimously invited, he declined the invitation, much to the regret of all the society. He afterwards became President of Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, Me. in 1807, and died in 1819, very much lamented.

After him, ZEPHANIAH SWIFT MOORE was employed to preach here, and, in October, 1797, was unanimously invited to become the minister of this church and society. He was ordained here, January 10, 1798, upon a salary of $400 per annum. He continued here till October 28, 1811, when, having been appointed Professor of the Languages in Dartmouth College, he was dismissed at his own request. Dr. Moore filled too important a sphere in society during his life to be passed over in silence, when giving what purports to be a history of a town to which he held the relation of a minister of the Gospel for almost 14 years. He was born in Palmer, in this State, but removed in early life to Wilmington, Vt. Here he labored with his father, who was a respectable farmer, till he was twenty years of age.

A part of his course of study preparatory to admission into college, he pursued at Bennington. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1793, with a high character as a scholar. He studied Divinity with the Rev. Dr. Backus, of Somers, in Connecticut. He was appointed Professor of Languages in Dartmouth College, in 1811, and continued there till 1815, when he received and accepted the appointment of President of Williams College, in Massachusetts, where he continued till his appointment of President of Amherst Collegiate Institution, which has, since his death, been chartered as a college. This appointment was made in 1821, and he held the office at the time of his death, June 30, 1823. He died at the age of 52 years, leaving a wife, but no children.

In every station which he held, he exhibited powers of mind, and strength of character to perform the duties incumbent upon him, with the greatest honor and success. He was, indeed, no ordinary man, and we feel that any attempt to delineate his character, or do justice to his reputation, as a scholar, as a christian, and as a man, must, in a great measure, fail. We hope some abler pen will yet do justice to his memory.

He was an indefatigable student, and possessed a remarkably sound and discriminating mind. His acquirements were extensive in almost every department of science and literature that came under his examination. But his favorite study, next to that of Theology, were moral Philosophy and Metaphysics. He was possessed of an unshaken firmness of character, and though cool and deliberate in forming opinions or arriving at conclusions, when they were once formed, he adhered to them with fearless resolution till convinced of his errors. He was often able to carry through a favorite plan with success, which to others would have seemed hopeless and desperate. His progress from the plough to the chair of President of a College, though never rapid, was sure and unwavering.

In every situation in life, he was kind, social, and engaging. But it was in his own family, and at his own fireside, that he exhibited most fully those qualities which we love and admire. His conversation was of an elevated and improving character, and no one could leave his society without having been delighted and instructed. In the government and discipline of a college, he had no superior. His accurate knowledge of human nature, his decision of character, and his urbanity of manners, while they enabled him to discriminate properly in the subjects of his government, carried respect and enforced obedience, and at the same time won the

confidence and affection of the pupil. As a writer, his productions may be considered as almost a model of fine composition. He rarely indulged in rhetorical ornaments of style, but was always neat and perspicuous, and often eloquent. His sermons were always heard with interest and attention, and would be read with pleasure as well as profit.

The writer has known Dr. Moore in almost every situation in life, and has had cause to love and respect him, while he admired those qualities of mind which he exhibited under all circumstances, and some of them the most trying. But it would be improper to intrude any personal feelings towards him in this place; we are only to speak of his character as it should be known in history, and we regret that we can do it so little justice. But we are not sufficiently removed from the time in which he lived, to have his character and reputation presented in their proper light. His is a fame that will brighten, and be remembered, when many whose genius was more brilliant and dazzling, will be forgotten. His name must ever be remembered as connected with Amherst College, for to his reputation and exertions, more than any other thing, may the early success and even existence of that institution be ascribed. We leave it to posterity to do him justice. His private virtues may be forgotten; for those only who knew him could appreciate *them*; but his character as a theologian, an instructor, and as a President and Director of a Seminary of learning, will be remembered.

He married, soon after becoming the minister of Leicester, to a daughter of the late Thomas Drury, of Ward, in this county, who still survives him. In his person, Dr. Moore was large, and very well formed; his manners were dignified and easy; his voice, though not very loud, was clear and distinct, and its tones remarkably pleasant. His manner of delivery was entirely free from affectation and attempt at display: he made use of but little action, but he was always listened to with interest and attention.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Dartmouth College, in the year 1816. In the year 1818, he preached the annual election sermon, before the executive and legislature of Massachusetts. He was, for some years before his death, a member of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions. His election sermon, and a few occasional sermons, were the principal productions of his pen ever published.

Although the town consented to the dismission of Dr. Moore

with reluctance and regret, and his removal was then considered a public misfortune to his society, they were so fortunate as to unite immediately in giving an unanimous call to Mr. John Nelson, Jr. to become their minister. He accepted the call, and was ordained March 4, 1812; but a little more than four months from the time of Dr. Moore's dismission. His salary at first was $450 per annum, but is at present, (1826) $650. Mr. Nelson was a native of Hopkinton, in this state, from whence he removed with his father to Worcester. He graduated at Williams College, in 1807, and was subsequently a tutor in that college, and afterwards pursued his theological studies under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Austin, of Worcester.

From the time of the dismission of Mr. Parsons, the congregational society have, for the most part, been in a state of great peace and tranquillity, and this spirit has prevailed in regard to religious opinions throughout the town; although there have, for many years, been several religious societies who have places of worship here. The first congregational meeting house was erected before the year 1721, though not completed till many years afterwards. That having gone much to decay, and being inconvenient, a new one was erected and completed in 1784 and '5, a little in the rear of the original house.

From the settlement of Mr. Parsons, till 1768, if the society was provided with church music at all, those who sung were scattered promiscuously through the audience. In that year, "the use of the *hindermost* seat in the front gallery" was appropriated to "those who had learned the rules of singing," and it was not till 1780, that the singers were allowed to sit in the front seat in the gallery.

Besides the congregational society, there has, for a long time, been a society of Baptists, and one of Friends; an Episcopalian society has recently been organized in the town. There was, from 1777 till 1783, a society of Jews resident in this town. They removed here in the winter of 1777, from Newport, in Rhode Island, to escape from the war then raging so violently along our coasts, and especially threatening the devoted island upon which Newport is situated, then in possession of the enemy. There were, in the whole, including servants, about seventy who removed here; though many of the servants were not of the Jewish faith. Among the most respectable Jews, were Aaron Lopez, and four others of the name of Lopez, Jacob Revera, and Abraham Men-

dez.* Most of them engaged immediately in trade, and Aaron Lopez, in particular, was very extensively engaged. He occupied, and in part built, the house afterwards occupied for the Academy. Licences to these are recorded in the town records, "to sell Bohea and other Indian teas." They all resided here until after the peace of 1783. Although, so far as respected their religion, they were entirely distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of the town: they were, in all other respects, on terms of great intimacy and friendship. They always observed the rites and ceremonies of their law, and their stores were closed from Friday evening until Monday morning.† They were prudent, industrious, and enterprising, and many of them were elegant in their address and deportment, and possessed an extensive knowledge of the world. They were much respected and esteemed by the inhabitants of the town, and always seemed to remember with pleasure, the kindness and civilities they, on their part, received while resident here, and availed themselves, ever afterwards, of every opportunity that presented to express these feelings, as many who experienced their attentions when in Newport would attest.‡

Of all those who removed to this town from Newport, no one now remains here. The last of their number removed, a few years since, to New York. The synagogue where they worshipped, is now desolate and forsaken; the grass waves luxuriantly in the court yard; and the little furniture remains, as when last used for holy service more than thirty years ago. The church yard, in which most of this number are buried, is still preserved in a state of uncommon neatness and beauty. But we have digressed, per-

*Aaron Lopez occupied what was afterwards the old Academy. Joseph was the son of Aaron, and lived with him. Moses and Jacob were clerks for Aaron. Mendez lived, for a time, where B. Hobart now lives, about half a mile north of the meeting house, and afterwards in the old house at the foot of the meeting house hill, called the "Southgate house." Revera lived in the house which forms a part of the Hotel, opposite the meeting house.

† A child of one of the families having one day tasted of some pork, in one of the neighbor's houses, its mother, immediately, upon learning the fact, administered a powerful emetic, and thus cast out the sin of which it had been unconsciously guilty.

‡ The death of Mr. Aaron Lopez, the most wealthy and intelligent of their number, took place under circumstances peculiarly distressing. Travelling to Providence, himself in a gig, accompanied by his wife and family in a carriage, he drove into Scott's pond, in Smithfield, to water his horse, when, from the abruptness of the shore, the horse sunk immediately beyond his depth, and drawing the gig after him, threw Mr. Lopez into the water, where he perished, in presence of his family, whose efforts to save him were unavailing.

haps too far, to follow to their last resting place, those, who once formed a respectable portion of the population of this town. Their history had no important connection with that of the town, and it entirely ceased at the time of their removal in 1783.

A society of Anabaptists was formed in this town, about the year 1738. The first minister of the society was Dr. Thomas Green, a physician of considerable note in his day. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the society was gathered. This church appears to have once formed part of a society of Baptists in Sutton, of which Dr. Green was one of the pastors.

Dr. Green was a native of Malden, Mass. and was one of the early settlers of Leicester. His circuit of business as a Physician was extensive, and his life was that of active and persevering industry. His success as a preacher was also very considerable, and a very respectable society was gathered. A meeting house was built through his agency, about three miles from the congregational meeting house. This house requiring great repairs, the society, in 1825, enlarged and repaired it, and it is now a very neat and convenient house of worship. Dr. Green died in 1773, at the age of 73 years, after a life distinguished for its activity and usefulness. His descendants, though not very numerous, have been among the useful and distinguished men of the county; and some of them have particularly excelled in the profession of medicine, for which they have shown a predilection.

Dr. Green was succeeded, as a pastor of this church, by the Rev. Benjamin Foster, D. D. whose talents and acquirements ranked him among the highest order of the profession. He was a native of Danvers, Mass. and born June 12, 1750. At the age of 18, he entered Yale College, where he was regularly graduated, and afterwards pursued the study of Theology under the tuition of Dr. Stillman, of Boston, and was ordained over the Baptist Church in Leicester, in 1772, where he continued several years, and while there, published some controversial tracts of considerable merit. Soon after leaving Leicester, he was settled in Newport, R. I. and, in 1788, became the pastor of the first Baptist church in the city of New York, where he continued till his death, in 1798. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity at Brown University, in 1792, in consequence of a learned treatise upon "the seventy weeks of Daniel," which he had previously published. He was a distinguished scholar, an eminent preacher, and a consis-

tent christian. He fell a victim to the yellow fever, which prevailed in the city of New York during the summer of his death. Not daunted in the performance of his parochial duties, he was unremitting in his attention to the sick and dying, and he shrunk not from those scenes of affliction, from which so many of the best and the bravest recoiled with terror. He died August 26, 1798, at the age of 49 years. He was twice married, his first wife being the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Green, of Leicester, and the other, a lady from New York.

Dr. Foster was succeeded in the charge of the Leicester church by Mr. Isaac Beals; whose successor was Mr. Nathan Dana; and his again was Mr. Peter Rogers, who became the pastor of a church in Leyden, Mass. after his removal from Leicester. Since Mr. Rogers' removal, the church has been supplied pretty constantly with preachers, though no one has been regularly ordained over it.* There are funds, in lands, to the amount of $1000, belonging to the society, and though called to struggle with difficulties, it has ever maintained a respectable standing. It had, in 1812, seventy eight communicants in the church, and, at present, there are about forty two. Mr. Harris at present officiates in this society as their pastor, though he has not been ordained. A part of this society were separated, about 1818, and formed a part of a Baptist society in the northeast part of Spencer, and to this circumstance may be referred, the diminished number of its members.

There has been a respectable society of Friends in this town for a great number of years. In 1732, eight persons filed their certificate with the Town Clerk that they belonged to that persuasion, who, either from a mistake in spelling, or to make an angry and execrable pun, calls them "those people called *Quackers*."† As no records are preserved of the early history of this society, we have not been able to trace it any farther than to the uniting of the families of these eight persons into a society. They had a house of worship, which stood where the present meeting house of that people stands; but when it was erected, we have not been

* Among those who supplied the pulpit, was the Rev. Mr. Hill, who is now a deservedly acceptable and popular preacher, in New Haven, Conn.

† Among the original number of those professing themselves Friends, in this town, was Mr. Ralph Earle, many of whose descendants of the same name, have belonged to this society, and been among the most respectable inhabitants of the town. Indeed, most of the members of this society, in this town, have been distinguished for their enterprise and intelligence, and have ever formed an useful and respectable portion of the population of the town, distinguished for their probity, hospitality, and wealth.

able to learn. The society, having become numerous, and that house being old, and somewhat decayed, in 1791, they removed the old, and built the present meeting house, which, according to Whitney, is a "very good house for their way of worship." It is situate in the north part of the town, about one and an half miles from the Congregational meeting house. The house is commodious, and of good proportions, although destitute of any thing ornamental. The spot in which it stands is retired, and almost surrounded with forest trees; around it, repose in their "nameless graves," the ashes of those who have died of the society. Though we do not profess any particular attachment to their "way of worship," we know of but few spots more calculated to awaken serious reflections than this. A solemn stillness reigns around it, and it seems as if it might be one of those few places where the cares of the world do not intrude. The society consists, at present, of about one hundred and thirty members, not all of whom, however, belong to Leicester.

In 1823, an Episcopalian society was gathered and formed, in the south part of Leicester, embracing the manufacturing establishment there, and several families from Oxford North Gore, and from Charlton. Among the most active in forming this society were, Mr. Anderton, whose name we have before had occasion to mention, Samuel Hartwell, Esq. and family, Francis Wilby, an English gentleman, resident in Boston, and several other gentlemen, with their families, who resided in the vicinity of the church.*

A very neat church for the use of this society was erected, by private subscription, and was consecrated by Bishop Griswold, on the last Wednesday in May, 1824. The Rev. Joseph Muenscher had previously been employed by the society, and it was now put under his pastoral charge. He is the present rector of this church, which is in a flourishing state. This was the first Episcopal church ever formed in Worcester County, and has had difficulties and discouragements to encounter, such as usually attend the formation of a new society. The church is situated upon the south side of the Stafford turnpike, about fifty rods from French River, and the Leicester and Saxon factories. Mr. Muenscher is a native of Providence, and was graduated at Brown University. He studied Theology at Andover, and was admitted to orders by Bishop Griswold,

* Among the most active of these was Mr. Hezekiah Stone, who liberally gave the ground upon which the church is erected, besides conferring other acts of liberality.

in March, 1824, immediately after which, he took charge of the church in Leicester. His marriage with a daughter of the late Joseph Washburn, was, we believe, the first ever consummated in this county in Episcopal form.

Such are some of the outlines of the ecclesiastical history of the town of Leicester, which, though necessarily imperfect, are sufficient to show, that the inhabitants of the town have been highly favored, in general, in respect to the important interests of religious instruction. Many of their teachers have been eminent for their faithfulness and abilities; and, on the other hand, the people have generally shown a good degree of liberality in contributing to the support of their clergymen. The utmost harmony and good fellowship has uniformly prevailed among the different sects and societies in town, each extending to the others, that courtesy and confidence which become those professing the same faith, though differing, in some particulars, in their mode of worship and form of government. In the interchange of civilities, in the election of civil officers, and in almost all the relations of society and social life, no distinction is made between members of different societies. Each is left to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, and the consequence has been, that the town has flourished and prospered, while many, possessing equal natural advantages, have been distracted by intestine divisions, and lost that elevated rank they might otherwise have held.

Civil History.—We feel no inconsiderable reluctance to attempt the civil history of this town, for the records have been found so imperfect, and the traditionary accounts so vague, that we are aware of our inability to do any thing like justice to the subject, and that it must be extremely imperfect, even in relation to those portions that are the most interesting and important. But we have been able to glean enough from its records and the recollection of some of its aged inhabitants to furnish to a more patient and successful laborer a clue, by which to guide his future investigations.

According to the Massachusetts Register, annually published in Boston, the town of Leicester is the fifth incorporated, in what is now the County of Worcester, and was incorporated, agreeably with the record we have before copied, in 1713. Whitney incorrectly places this event in 1720, or 1721.

As early as 1721, the town had begun to exercise the powers of an incorporated town, by choosing all the officers belonging to

such a town, and was, moreover, represented in the General Court of the Province, though no record of any choice is to be found until the next year, when the same men who represented them the year before were again chosen.*

The first Corn Mill in town was erected in 1722, and as an inducement to build it, the town voted that it should forever be exempt from taxation. It stood, as is believed, on the north side of the great post road, about half a mile from the meeting house.

Although quite a number of town meetings were held, and their transactions recorded, previous to 1724, we do not find his Majesty's name made use of, in any way, previous to that time, when a meeting was first called "in his Majesty's name." This, however, was rather the result of accident, or imperfect records, than from any want of loyalty, or from the preponderance of republican feelings; since, at that day, loyalty and patriotism were convertible terms, and even at a later day, some of the leading men in town were distinguished for their loyalty.†

We have not been able to ascertain to what extent the inhabitants of the town suffered from the depredations of the Indians. They undoubtedly shared in the horrors of the wars which the natives carried on against the people of the province. In 1726, the town was

* The Hon. John Minsie was the person elected. He was a leading man in town and appears to have been very respectable and influential. He removed from Roxbury to Leicester, and is usually stiled Judge Minsie in the records of the town. When or where he held that office, we have not been able to ascertain. He resided upon a tract of 500 acres, which he owned, around the Henshaw Pond, and was long remembered for having introduced the "*White Weed*," principally, we believe, on account of its beauty.

† Among these, we would name with respect, the Hon. Thomas Steel, Esq. a native of Boston, who removed to Leicester and built a dwelling house about half a mile east of the meeting house which is yet standing (called the Southgate house.) He was liberally educated, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1730, and stands upon the catalogue of that year, when each student's name was arranged according to his relative rank in life, the fourth in order; the first being the famous Peter Oliver, to whom the province afterwards owed so much of its difficulties and distress. Mr. Steel, was bred a merchant, and pursued that business till his removal from Boston to Leicester, where he also kept a store. He was, from 1756 to 1774, an associate judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Worcester County, and always remained firm in his loyalty to the King. It is noticable, that the most spirited resolutions of the town against the aggressions of the mother country, previous to 1770, are recorded in the town records in his hand writing—a kind of involuntary treason that he dare not refuse to commit. He was wealthy when he first came to this town; but owing to misfortunes, his wealth became very much reduced. His influence, until the revolution, was, deservedly great; for he was a man of intelligence and integrity. He was several times chosen to represent the town, in the General Court, and successively held most of the responsible offices.

at the expense of erecting a garrison, as it was called, around the house of Mr. Parsons, to protect them from the attacks of the savages. This was a little north east of the meeting house. There were other garrisons, for the same purpose, erected in other parts of the town. One of these, was near the dwelling house, belonging to the Henshaw family, near the Henshaw pond, and its outlines may be traced now. The house occupied by John King, Esq. in the south part of Leicester, upon the Oxford road, was also, as is believed, a garrison house, and marks of musket balls are yet said to be visible in parts of it, which can be referred only to the times of the Indian wars. Another garrison was near Mr. Jonah Earle's dwelling house.

The town seems to have been troubled in its fiscal concerns for some time after its settlement. The inhabitants, immediately upon their removing here, assumed the expenses of schools and the support of a minister, which, together with the necessary highways they were compelled to make, rendered their expenses burdensome; especially, as much of the land in town became, in the course of years, either the property of a few individuals in town, or of those, who, residing out of it, were exempt from the burdens of the resident proprietors. They lived too, at a time when false notions of wealth and public economy prevailed. An unhealthy, and almost worthless currency, had inundated the state, and the general complaint of a scarcity of money prevailed throughout the province. The inhabitants of this town, in common with the majority of the people of the province, were deceived into an opinion that the difficulties under which all were laboring might be removed by new emissions of paper money, which must ever be worthless, when it ceases to be the representative of real wealth, and so redeemable that its nominal, may become its actual value, at the will of the holder. In 1727, an emission of £60,000 in paper money, was made by the Legislature, and loaned to the people of the province, the interest arising from which was to go towards the support of government. This town appointed trustees to receive its proportion of this grant and to loan it to the inhabitants, so that no one should have more than ten, nor less than five pounds.

The question as to the value of the currency, from time to time, in the early history of New England, though interesting and important in a historical point of view is attended with too much labor and difficulty and would occupy too much time for us to attempt to settle. Its fluctuations were so frequent, and its depreciation often

so great, that what, at first sight, may seem enormous sums, when reduced by the scale of depreciation, for the time being, dwindle into comparative insignificance. The depreciation of the money was not so great, before the year 1745, as it afterwards was. The only criterion which we possess to ascertain any thing like its standard value is, a comparison of the prices of labor and produce at different times, during our history. In 1726, four shillings per day, were allowed by the town for labor upon a "garrison" they were then building. In 1754, two shillings per day for men, and one shilling for a yoke of oxen were allowed upon the highways. In 1774, three shillings per day for men were allowed. In 1780, so rapid had the money depreciated, that six *pounds* per day were paid for labor on the highways. In 1775, the delegate in the Provincial Congress from this town, received five shillings per day for his services. The same sum was paid, in 1788, to representatives in the General Court, while Senators had five shillings and sixpence, and Counsellors six shillings, per day. The compensation of members of Congress from this State was fixed, that year, at four dollars per day. The next year, this town gave their representative but four shillings per day. In 1790, labor on the highways was fixed at three shillings per day, and the next year, at two. In the year 1752, one pound, lawful money, was paid for boarding a school master six weeks; and in 1779, the member of the convention that formed the Constitution, from this town, paid one hundred and eighty two dollars per week, for his board. In 1780, the ratio of depreciation of the old money was, as 40 to 1.

In 1776, a committee was appointed, agreeably to a resolve of the General Court, to fix the prices at which labor, produce, &c. then stood, and this estimation must have been made in reference to a currency then at par. The list of articles, prepared and reported by this committee, was very large, and we will only transcribe a few items from the report, for the purpose of comparing them with the same articles at the present day. Labor, per day, in the summer, was estimated at three shillings; and in the winter, at half that sum: by the year, at twenty pounds. Men's shoes, at eight shillings per pair; horse hire, at two pence per mile: shoeing a horse, five and sixpence; a good gun and bayonet at eighty four shillings; Indian corn, at three shillings; Rye, at four and sixpence; wheat, at six shillings per bushel: Butter, nine pence; Beef, three and a half pence per pound; salt pork, at eight pence, per pound: and "*Toddy and Flip*" at one shilling "*per mug.*"

The depreciation of the currency was not confined to the emissions from this state. In 1785, five dollars of the Rhode Island currency, and eight dollars of that of New Hampshire, were worth but three shillings here. But we are approaching too extensive a subject for our means or time to master, and must therefore leave it for some curious and patient antiquarian.

It would be impossible to fix the actual state of the depreciation at different times; since it was so rapid, and withal so fluctuating, that a person was chosen by this town, in 1786, to report, as often as once a week, to the inhabitants, the value of the paper money and public securities.

The early records of the town are quite imperfect, and only a partial account of the transactions they purport to record, can be gleaned from them: we can, therefore, hardly pursue a correct chronological order in relating those circumstances which we have been able to gather respecting its history. Many of the votes passed and some of the officers chosen are not perfectly obvious in their necessity or policy. We can hardly conceive the necessity for a "clerk of the market" in a place where none bought, and few sold any thing of a marketable character, yet that office, as well as that of deer-reeve, was regularly filled for a great many years after the incorporation of the town. Another officer who was chosen annually for many years, but, though a statute officer, is now discontinued, was a "warden." The best solution of this was offered by an elderly gentleman, of whom we enquired the use, that coming from Old England our fathers wanted to have every thing here as they had left them at home.

The inhabitants were troubled, for many years, by the proprietors of the lands, most of which then lay common, taking cattle from abroad to pasture upon these common lands; and in order to prevent this, they levied a tax of ten shillings per head, upon all cattle so taken to be fed; and a still more singular vote was passed, that all rams running at large should be "free plunder," and any one who should take such, might have them, for his own.

Although, as we have seen, the people of the town must have been far from wealthy, for many years after settling here, they were not burthened with taxes for the support of the poor until 1745, when provision was made for the support of a poor child that happened to be in need: not many years after, a small sum was appropriated to help a poor man to provide himself with a cow. It is impossible now to ascertain the precise amount which

has been expended for the support of the poor of the town since that time. We may safely assert, that from five to eight hundred dollars are annually expended, for this purpose, at present.

The people of the town were affected, in common with those of the whole of New England, by the early wars with the French, and furnished men, from time to time, to aid the expeditions which were carried on by the Province. The meagerness of the records leaves us in uncertainty, as to the numbers actually engaged in these wars, from this town. But when the Grand Canada expedition, as it was called, was planned by Governor Shirley, in 1746, to drive the French from their North American possessions, this town furnished men for the army then raised, and, as an additional compensation for their sacrifices, their taxes were abated by the town.

Every thing favored a prevalence of loyal feelings among the people of New England, at this period, and in Leicester, no less than in other parts of the country; some of its most leading men were natives of Great Britain, and had all the ties of kindred, besides the natural feeling of attachment to the place of their birth, to bind them to the mother country. Richard Southgate, and Daniel Denny, both of them influential men in their day, were natives of Coombs, in Suffolk county, in England.* They left Coombs in June, 1715, and arrived in Boston in September. The next year, Southgate went back to England and returned with his family, and Dr. Thomas Prince, who had been the clergyman of Coombs, and was afterwards settled in Boston, the venerable annalist of New England. They arrived in Boston, in July, 1717; in the March following, Southgate and family, and Denny and family, removed to Leicester. Mr. Denny settled upon the farm, still in possession of the family, about two miles south east from the meeting-house. He was a brother of Dr. Prince's wife, and of Major Denny, as he is called, who settled, about the year 1728, in Maine, where he became a man of wealth and influence, being, at the time of his death, first Judge of the "court of pleas," and president of the court of sessions in the county of Lincoln.†

*Richard Southgate was born in 1673, and died at the age of 88 years, in 1758. Daniel Denny was born 1694, and died April 10, 1780, at the age of 66 years.

†Richard Southgate had two sons, Stuart and Richard: the first, the father of the Hon. Robert Southgate, of Scarborough, Maine, and of the late Capt. John Southgate, whose family still reside in Leicester. The children of Richard were more numerous, and one branch of his family only, bearing his name, remains in Leicester—the children of his son Isaac.

Daniel Denny had two sons, Thomas and Samuel. Both of them we shall

The precise number of men furnished by this town during the several French wars, as they were called, cannot now be precisely ascertained; that it was never backward in furnishing its quotas, the facts which are recorded of those times, and their promptness in subsequent calls, most clearly prove.

One man yet survives, at the advanced age of 86, who was a soldier from 1756 to 1761, and was in the memorable affair of Fort William Henry, in 1757, when so many English and Americans were massacred by the savages of Montcalm's army. His name is Knight Sprague, a native of Hingham, from which place he marched, in 1756. The next year, he was with Col. Bradstreet at the taking of Fort Frontinac, on Lake Ontario. His memory is yet accurate and tenacious. Fort William Henry was surrendered, according to his account, about 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and the English were detained till the next morning and guarded by the French. As soon however as the army had left the fort, to take up their march, according to the terms of capitulation, the Indians rushed upon them, and began to strip and kill the prisoners. Sprague escaped, after being partially stripped.—His captain was stripped naked, as were many women, he passed, in his flight, towards Fort Edward. Of the half company to which he belonged, fifteen out of the fifty, were killed, that day. Munro, the British commander, as represented by Sprague, was a dignified man of about fifty years of age. Montcalm was a fine looking man, extremely well formed, and very active and graceful, but small in stature.

The inhabitants of this town early felt, and boldly expressed, an opposition to those acts of the mother country which tended to curtail the liberties of the colonies. At this day, it is difficult to realize, in all their forces, the feelings of the colonists from 1763 till their independence was acknowledged. History has done them justice as a nation, and eulogies upon the prominent leaders in that struggle have preserved their names and handed them down to posterity with a lustre which time cannot dim. But injustice must, of necessity, have been done to those no less deserving men, who, in the private circles, the village meetings, and the smaller assemblies of the people, kept alive that sacred flame that burned so

have occasion to mention hereafter. The son of Thomas was the late Col. Thomas, and father of the present Thomas Denny. Samuel had several sons, among whom, was the Hon. Nathaniel P. Denny. These families have ever held a highly respectable station in society, and had deserved influence in town.

brightly through the land. It is surprising to read, on the records of obscure villages and towns, resolutions and sentiments that would have done credit to the hall of Congress. We do not speak unguardedly. Resolutions are now preserved in our town records, which were prepared and acted upon in the years of the American revolution, that only want the name of a statesman as their author, to make them rank in interest and importance with those which have been so generally and justly admired. In this town, though its population must have been small, though its inhabitants had enjoyed none but ordinary means of education, and though, as it is believed, no one, except their clergyman, of the whig party, had ever enjoyed the means of a public education, and many of the foremost men were even destitute of a good common education, its records cannot now be read, without exciting admiration at the knowledge and discrimination of political principles and of public wrongs and injuries which those records evince.

The town were in the habit of giving to their representatives instructions upon those topics upon which they felt the most interest. This began in 1765, when John Brown was chosen their representative in the General Court of the Province. A committee was then appointed to draft resolutions, of which, Daniel Henshaw was chairman; the report was presented to the people, in town meeting, and there accepted. It will be impossible to do justice to any of these papers, by the few extracts we shall be able to give, but their length renders the entire insertion impossible.

The state of the controversy, at that time, is too well known to need a recapitulation of its history here, in order to understand the sketches we shall give. The contest about taxing the colonies was high; the stamp act had been passed; and the popular excitement had extended so far, in Boston, as to lead to the destruction of Governor Hutchinson's house by the mob. The instructions to Capt. Brown, alluded to "the then critical juncture of time and affairs," and expressed the expectation that their representative will maintain "their natural rights; their rights as Englishmen, which derive to them as subjects of Great Britain, and those granted them by charter." They charge him to be frugal of the money belonging to the government, and to be strictly careful that it be not drawn out of the treasury, but by appropriation of the General Court; as any other course would be, virtually, taxing the people contrary to the constitution, and in subversion of one of their darling rights. They speak of the levying taxes, and the "stamp act,

which, they cannot but think, is contrary to the rights of man, subversive of the English constitution, and directly tending to bring them into a state of abject slavery and vassalage: that they purchased and settled this country, without expense to Great Britain, and have cheerfully contributed to advance her glory and prosperity, and therefore expect all the privileges of citizens of that government: that they esteem it an essential privilege to be taxed by their representatives, and that they had no voice in levying the stamp act, so burdensome, especially, upon the widow and fatherless." The instructions also refer to the stretch of admiralty powers of the court, more alarming than the stamp act itself, "by which, every man, at the option of a malicious informer, is liable to be carried a thousand miles before a court of vice admiralty; there tried without jury, amerced by an arbitrary judge, and taxed with costs, as he shall please; and if the parties have not wherewith to satisfy the same, to die in prison in a foreign land, without friends to bury them: this we apprehend to be repugnant to the magna charta, by which no freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, or deprived of his liberties, or free customs, nor passed upon, nor condemned, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. The love we bear to our fellow subjects of Great Britain, the love and duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, yea, the first instinct of nature, the great law of self preservation, all appear contrary to said act." They proceed to lament the state into which the country was thrown, and reprobate, in the strongest terms, the riots that had taken place: they express their surprise and regret at the Governor's imputing these to the people of the Province; charge the representative by no means to agree to any thing which might show a willingness to submit to the obnoxious acts of Parliament, nor to consent to make good the damages sustained by the Governor in the riot, since that might lead to such practices in future.

Our extracts, though somewhat liberal, convey but a slight idea of the spirit, or style and language of the paper. Its length alone, precludes our inserting it entire; for nothing can better show the precise state of public feeling, at that time, than documents like this, in which it is so undisguisedly expressed. We cannot but again repeat our surprise, at the high state of excitement which so early prevailed in a community, which was, comparatively, destitute of newspapers and posts, by which, at the present day, a feeling in, one part of the nation is, at once, communicated to every part. The

men, who, in language like that we have transcribed, could talk of the principles of the British constitution, the magna charta, and of trial by jury, were but a chance selection from the general mass of the people, pursuing the same callings, and possessing the same advantages with them, and during an adjournment of their meeting for an hour, wrought such sentiments into a report which was unanimously accepted by the people of the town. It is unnecessary to repeat, that the efforts of their representative, in pursuance of his instructions, were unavailing. The continued aggressions of the crown disclosed, how little the government regarded the first movings of that mighty flood that was to overwhelm them.

After the dissolution of the General Court of the Province, by the Governor, in 1768, the town of Boston passed several very spirited resolutions; in accordance with these, and in consequence of the alarming crisis of affairs, this town adopted sundry resolutions, in which they condemn the dissolution of General Court, and the delay in summoning another, as real grievances, and chose a delegate to meet with a convention, in Boston, called by the recommendation of the people of that town, in consequence of the delay of the Governor in calling a new General Court. Capt. John Brown was chosen their delegate, and instructed not to suffer any thing to be done rashly, and that every mild measure be adopted that might be consistent with the duties of Englishmen, claiming their rights.

This town very promptly united in preventing the importation of English goods, with those, who hoped, by this measure, to make the people in the various sections, feel the importance of the American market for their prosperity, and therefore combine, to prevent the ministry from persevering in measures, so ruinous to the mother country, as well as the colonies. At a town meeting, held in January, 1770, they voted not to purchase of those merchants in Boston, who imported goods from Great Britain; and at the same time, voted their thanks to those merchants, who, by refusing to import such goods, sacrificed their own interest to the good of their country.*

*This meeting was called, in consequence of the following petition, from sundry individuals to the Selectmen, dated Dec. 25, 1769, viz.—Whereas, there are several persons in this province who have sordidly detached themselves from the public interest, and have taken advantage of the agreement entered into by the merchants for non-importation, thereby endeavoring to defeat their noble design of saving their country from slavery: We, the subscribers, will endeavor, by all lawful means, to prevent their base designs, and for that end, we pray that you will grant a warrant for the calling a town meeting, to act on the following articles, viz.—To vote that any person,

The defect of newspapers at that day was, so far as the opposition to the crown was concerned, pretty well supplied by pamphlets and similar publications from the press, which were liberally scattered through the land. Whatever was thus sent, was sure to be read. The selectmen of this town, having received one of these, together with a circular letter from the town of Boston, in 1772, immediately summoned the town together to hear them read. The pamphlet was one "wherein the rights of the colonists, and the infringement thereof, are set forth." After hearing it, the town voted, that "the rights, as there stated, do belong to the inhabitants of this province," and chose a committee, of which Capt. Brown was chairman, to prepare resolutions in accord with the pamphlet. Among these, they express their allegiance to the King; their willingness to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their rights; that Parliament had passed laws subversive of their rights and privileges; that "the British Parliament, or any other power on earth, had no right to dispose of one cent of their property without their consent, in person, or by representatives; and that carrying any person out of this province, or beyond sea, for any supposed crime, is contrary to the magna charta, and unconstitutional." They, at the same time, gave instructions to their representative, Thomas Denny, Esq. wherein they recapitulate the wrongs to be redressed. Among others, that the Governor is independent of the people for his salary, and the Judges dependent on the crown, when they ought to be independent both of prince and people, in order to an impartial administration of justice; and upon this subject they quote

being an inhabitant of Leicester, who shall, directly, or indirectly, purchase any goods, or merchandize, of John Barnard, James and Patrick McMasters, John Mein, Anne and Elizabeth Cummings, all of Boston, Henry Barnet, of Marlborough, Dunkin & Campbell, of Worcester, or any other person who imports goods from Great Britain, or shop keeper who purchases goods of an importer, contrary to the agreement entered into by the merchants of Boston, such persons, so offending, shall be deemed enemies to America, and as such, shall be recorded in the town's book of records."

This was from the pen of Col. William Henshaw, and was signed by twenty eight persons, among whom were Nathan Sargent, David Henshaw, John Southgate, Thomas Newhall, &c.

In May, 1770, a company of forty six men, from this town, formed themselves into a body, for the purpose of learning the manual exercise, drill, &c. of the soldier. They elected Wm. Henshaw their Captain, Seth Washburn, Lieutenant, and Samuel Denny, Ensign; and so intent were they upon becoming properly instructed in these essential qualifications of soldiers, that they devoted certain afternoons in each week for the purpose, and punctually attended to the duty, although the season of the year seemed to require their constant attention to their farms. Five only of the company yet survive: Benjamin Watson, William Watson, Marmaduke Earle, Abner Dunbar, and Jonathan Hubbard.

freely, from a popular and patriotic work of the day, whose author is not given. They urge a petition to the King, in hopes of success, as the Earl of Hillsborough had then been dismissed from the ministry and a nobleman friendly to the colonies succeeded him. They, at the same time, recommended an intercourse with the other colonies "as we are embarked in a common cause." "In fine, when we reflect upon the evils our forefathers underwent in the settlement of this country, the dangers to which they stood continually exposed from an insidious and blood thirsty foe, and the blood and treasure they expended, we think ourselves justly entitled to all the calamities an envious despot can heap upon us, should we tamely and pusillanimously suffer the execution of them," (the laws respecting the colonies.) "It would be despising the bounties of our creator; an infamous prostitution of ourselves, and a total disregard to posterity."

We do not feel at liberty, in the space allotted us, to make extracts from all the resolutions which were passed by the inhabitants of this town: for there was not a year elapsed, in which they did not express a sense of their grievances, and that with a degree of determination, constantly gaining strength and boldness, as the struggle progressed. We cannot forbear adding a few more extracts, to those we have already given.

In 1773, the town again chose Thomas Denny their Representative, and, among other instructions to him, recommend a standing committee of correspondence, as suggested by the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and enjoin upon him an effort to put an end to slavery and the slave trade in this province. In December, of the same year, they expressed their feelings upon the continued encroachments of the Crown, and denounced the levy of duties on imported articles, pledging themselves to oppose, to the utmost of their power, and at the hazard of their lives, any imposition unconstitutionally laid upon them. They, at the same time, resolved that they would not use any tea, "while loaded with a *tribute*, contrary to their consent," and that, whoever shall use "that destructive herb," shall be deemed inimical to his country, as endeavoring to counteract the doings of those, who were zealous for its wellfare. A resolution of thanks to Boston, was voted. A committee of fourteen was appointed, to examine as to the use of tea in town, and to report the names of those who made use of it. And a copy of these resolutions was sent to the committee of correspondence in Boston.

In May, 1774, after the harbor of Boston had been blocked up, by order of the British Parliament, a circular letter was received from Boston, to which the town immediately replied, expressing a spirit of becoming indignation at such an act of tyranny, and assured the Bostonians of the readiness of the people of this town to stand by them in their distress. "The cause," say they, "is interesting to all America, and all America must be convinced of this great truth, that by uniting, we shall stand."

The Court of Sessions of this county, this year, had made an address to the Governor, in which they reflected, with great severity, upon the conduct of the friends of liberty, calling their meetings, mutinous and tumultuous. This, immediately, in July, brought the inhabitants of this town together, and in a series of spirited resolutions, they expressed the feelings which that address had excited. They lamented the melancholy state of affairs, and, after stating that "their meeting was not holden riotously, tumultuously, and seditiously, but soberly and seriously, as men, as freemen, and as christians," they recapitulated their rights under the charters of Charles, and William and Mary, "to the end that posterity may know what our claims are, and to what struggles we are called in defence of them." They then resolved, "that any power that shall attempt to nullify, or destroy said charter, in the whole, or in part, put, itself into a *state of war* with the Province:" that they would, "even to the risque of their lives and fortunes, support and maintain the execution of the laws of this Province, as established by the charter and Legislature thereof:" that they would not purchase any goods imported from England, after the 31st of August, then next, nor purchase of any importer, any goods, until the harbor of Boston be opened and the tea duty taken off:" and that "it is the duty of all of the age of discretion, to inform themselves of their rights as men, as members of society, and by the English constitution." In addition to these, which are but a part of a series of the resolutions then passed, they deny the assertions contained in the address of the Court, and condemn, it in the strongest terms. A covenant not to purchase goods imported from England, had, before this time, been signed by many in town, and a committee was appointed to present this covenant to all persons who had not already signed it. This, it will be recollected, was in July, 1774: in September, of the same year, the town met, and voted, to mount their cannon, and directed the selectmen to attend to all those not provided with fire arms. They also voted, that all differences between individuals should be settled by reference.

The General Court was ordered to be convened at Salem, in October of the same year, and Thomas Denny was again chosen to represent this town. He was instructed to refuse to be sworn by any person, except such as might be appointed according to the charter; and by no means to be sworn by the Lieutenant Governor, "who has taken the oaths as counsellor by mandamus from the King:" nor to act with the council appointed by mandamus: and that he should refuse to adjourn to Boston while garrisoned by troops: if any thing impeded their acting at Salem, he was directed to repair to Concord, and join the Provincial Congress, to be convened there on the second Tuesday of October. At a subsequent meeting, they concluded not to send any other member to the Congress than Col. Denny, and in their instructions to him, in that capacity, they directed him to endeavor to have the militia put upon the most respectable footing: to provide cannon for each town; "for we know not, say they, how soon we may be called to action:" that the Treasury be removed from Boston; to enquire why Boston neck and common is entrenched, and to cause the fortifications to be demolished; that the daily loss sustained by that town be estimated, and that the non-consumption covenant be religiously observed; a proper intercourse kept up with the other colonies, and Canada, and Nova Scotia, in order to unite them. He is also directed, "to endeavor that those *contumacious* persons who have endeavored to subvert the government, by being sworn, and acting as counsellors by mandamus, be apprehended, and held to trial;" and that a day of thanksgiving and prayer be set apart to God, for his goodness the past year in discovering the machinations of their enemies, and for the bounties of his Providence. Col. Denny attended this Congress, but was taken sick at Cambridge, where it was sitting, returned to Leicester, and Col. Joseph Henshaw was chosen to supply his place. In the same year, in November, the town procured one barrel of powder, and four hundred weight of balls, for their cannon, and appointed a committee "to supply those who might be called to march in defence of their rights, with provisions."* In December, a committee was chosen, to carry into ef-

* Resolutions, expressing the feelings that then actuated every class, were formed, to aid the general cause. At a meeting of the Blacksmiths of the County of Worcester, holden at Worcester, on the 8th of November, 1774, at which Ross Wyman was chairman, and Timothy Bigelow was clerk, they resolved not to work for any persons whom they esteemed enemies to their country, from and after the first day of the next December. These were the tories, counsellors by mandamus who had not resigned, every one who publicly addressed Gov. Hutchinson at his departure from the province, and

fect the resolves of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, the only law givers they then acknowledged. This committee consisted of Col. Joseph Henshaw, Hezekiah Ward, Esq. Capt. Jonathan Newhall, Joseph Sargent, Seth Washburn, Samuel Denny, Thomas Newhall, and Samuel Green. The town appointed men to manage their cannon, and voted to have a contribution taken up, for the benefit of the poor in the town of Boston. The Provincial Congress had recommended to the several towns, to withhold the amount of their annual taxes from Harrison Gray, who was the State Treasurer under the royal government, before the commencement of the difficulties in the colonies, and was still Treasurer; and that they should pay them over to Henry Gardiner, Esq. of Stow, as the Treasurer for the province. With this recommendation, the town complied, and directed the amount of their taxes to be paid accordingly.* The militia of the town were called together, and a company of minute men drafted, who were to be ready to march whenever occasion required, at the shortest notice. Each soldier signed articles of enlistment, prepared by a committee of the town. This company was put under the command of Capt. Seth Washburn.

Col. Joseph Henshaw was again chosen representative to the Provincial Congress, in 1775, and urgently enjoined to procure that body to assume the powers of government, to prevent that anarchy and ruin with which the state was threatened. This was, indeed, a dark and trying hour. The arm of civil power had been unnerved. The same acts that resisted the tyranny of the mother government, annihilated the salutary restraint of those laws which had been enacted, for there was no power to execute them. It seemed as if the land was to become a prey to the abandoned and unprincipled. But there was found to be a redeeming power in the land; a power before which the wicked trembled, and the

every person exercising authority to carry into execution any of the oppressive acts of Parliament. It was particularly resolved, that they would do no work for Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, John Murray, of Rutland, and James Putnam, of Worcester, Esq'rs. nor for any one in their employment. They also refused to work for all who had not signed the "non-consumption covenant," as it was called, and not only these, but every one, who should work for, or be employed by these interdicted persons. And in addition to their own resolutions, which they printed, they called upon all denominations of artificers to form similar associations and agreements. To these resolutions the names of forty three were affixed, among which was that of Seth Washburn, from Leicester.

* Mr. Gardiner was, afterwards, the first State Treasurer under the constitution of 1780.

strong bowed; the force of public and patriotic feeling was sufficient to check all disorders. At the meeting, in December, 1774, the town voted to aid the civil officers in arresting and securing riotous and disorderly persons, thus giving to the officers of justice the aid of public opinion, the most powerful of all supports.

In January succeeding, (1775) the town voted a bounty to each minute man, and, if called to march, (as they express an opinion they will be, before May then next,) to be allowed "the province pay," and they provided them all with ball pouches. All who were engaged in the province service were exempt from taxation, and yet, amidst all these fearful notes of preparation, though an attempt was made to suspend the schools and repairs to the highways, the town refused to suspend them. For the first six months of the year, they were represented in the Provincial Congress, by Deac. Oliver Watson, of Spencer, (then forming a district of Leicester, for the purposes of representation): for the remainder of the year, they were represented by Hezekiah Ward, Esq. In 1776, they chose Seth Washburn, to represent them in the General Assembly, and instructed him, by no means to consent to stopping the passage into Boston harbor, as had been proposed by the former Assembly, to prevent the enemy again coming into port, because it would tend to ruin the trade of Boston entirely. For some time before the declaration of Independence, by the Congress of 1776, had been made, the policy of that measure had been freely discussed, and advocated, or condemned, according to the hopes and wishes of the disputants. A meeting was had, in May, 1776, the 22d day of the month, in this town, for the express purpose of seeing if the town would uphold Congress in declaring the colonies independent of Great Britain, when they unanimously voted "that in case the Hon. the Continental Congress should declare the colonies independent of Great Britain, they would support said Congress in effectuating such a measure at the *risque of their lives* and *fortunes*." And when, in July, this declaration was received, it was read, agreeably to the order of Council, in church, by the minister, the first Lord's day after receiving it, and was recorded, in a fair legible hand, at full length, in the records of the town. The Hon. Joseph Allen, now of Worcester, was then their clerk. He had taken an active part in all the transactions of the day; and, if we mistake not, some of the most spirited and interesting papers upon the records of the town were the production of his pen.*

* We regret that we are not able to trace each of these to their proper

But it was not by resolutions and instructions, however spirited, alone, that the people of this town showed their adherence to the cause of liberty. They made many and great sacrifices of their wealth, their ease, and comfort, and of lives too. We feel safe in affirming, that they promptly answered every call for men, or money, or provisions, during the war of the Revolution. Every quota of men was fully furnished, and, in many cases, this became extremely burdensome, since the first who enlisted into the Continental Army, instead of enlisting for three years, entered the Army "during the war," and it was with difficulty, and great expense, that the drafts of three and eight month's men were filled, because so many of the young men were already in the Army. When the trumpet of war was first sounded at Lexington, a company of men belonging to Leicester and Spencer, marched, without delay, to the scene of action, and subsequently took an honorable part in the battle on Bunker Hill. This company was commanded by Capt. Seth Washburn, whose Lieutenant was Joseph Livermore, of Spencer, and Ensign Loring Lincoln, of Leicester. There are yet six survivors of that company, and from them we have learned some of the particulars of their marching from here, and the services they performed. The officers of the company, besides those mentioned, were Peleg Hersey, John Brown, Anthony Sprague and William Crossman, Sergeants: Jason Livermore, Hezekiah Saunders, Daniel Hubbard, and Elijah Southgate, Corporals. The company was attached to the Regiment commanded by Col. Jonathan Ward, of Southborough, Lieut. Col. Barnes of Marlborough, and Maj. Timothy Bigelow, of Worcester. The news of the engagement at Lexington, arrived here, about noon of the next day. The men, constituting the company of minute-men, were then engaged upon their respective farms, and messengers were dispatched to collect them. Not a moment of delay was made on their part; the plough was left in the furrow; they scarce took time to bid adieu to their families, and in a few hours were mustered upon the common in Leicester, and were soon on their march. Many anecdotes are related of the march of this company, that would have done honor to the days of Roman or Spartan virtue. It was truly a trying hour. It was the first time that the sound of war had been heard in their own borders for almost the life of a generation, and the fearful odds in which they were

authors. One of them, at least, we believe to have been from the pen of Col. Thomas Denny; some, from that of Col. William Henshaw; some, from that of Joseph Henshaw, and several, if we mistake not, from the pen of Mr. Allen.

to be engaged, naturally led to the most gloomy forebodings. The mother of the commander of the company, was overwhelmed with grief and apprehension at the departure of her son; but he, in no way agitated, bade her a cheerful farewell; "pray for me," said he as he left her, "and I will fight for you." One of the company, was the son of Mr. Nathan Sargent. He found it impossible to furnish himself with lead for musket balls, and to supply this defect, his father directed his son to melt down the weights of a valuable clock that was then keeping time, which was at once done, and most of the company supplied from this source. The company marched a short time before sun down, and continued their advance during the night to Marlborough, and, after halting to refresh, continued their march to Watertown, where, learning there was no immediate need of their services, they halted. They were afterwards stationed in Fort No. 2, as it was called, a little north of the dwelling house of the late Chief Justice Dana. On the 17th June, the Col. of the Regiment was absent, and it was commanded by Lt. Col. Barnes. The Regiment left the camp, on that day, about noon, and halted some time at Lechmere Point,—the reason for which is not known. As the Regiment came to the foot of Bunker Hill, it was met by the famous Dr. Church, of Boston, who, for so long a time, acted the double part of seeming patriot and actual traitor, who informed the commander, that orders were sent to stop any more troops going on to the field, and the Regiment halted. Capt. Washburn, overhearing these orders, exclaimed in a loud voice, that they were "tory orders," and turning to his company, asked which of them would follow him. Every man of them marched from the line, and followed him into the action. The Regiment thus broken, was not again collected during the day. This company came into the engagement about a quarter of an hour before a retreat was ordered. They took post at the rail fence nearest the redoubt, and were engaged until the whole American line retreated. No one of the company was killed, although all, except two,* were in the action. Capt. Washburn received a ball in his cartouch box, four passed through his coat, and one through his wig. Mr. Brown was badly wounded in the foot; a private of the name of Ward, was wounded in the arm; and Mr. Crossman was also wounded. When the Americans were retreating, a ball struck the cord that supported the canteen of Mr. Isaac Livermore, and cut it off: but he was too

* These were Mathew Johnson and Joseph Washburn, son of the commander, who were detached on the morning of the 17th for guard duty.

careful of his possessions thus to lose a quantity of eau-de-vie that it contained, and turning round, returned amidst a shower of balls, picked up the treasure and brought it off safe. When on the march to the hill, Capt. Washburn gave leave to any one who felt disinclined to go, to return, but no one availed himself of this license. Col. Barnes was tried by a Court Martial for his conduct that day, but, from some palliating circumstances, was acquitted.

We have been the more particular in our account of this company of men, as it was the first raised in the town which we are describing, and these, and other anecdotes connected with the Battle of the 17th June, 1775, are attested by living witnesses.*

Besides those we have named as having marched from this town, who took part in the battle of the 17th June, 1775, there are others still residing here, who were also actors in that glorious day. Mr. Caleb Barton and Capt. John Holden, who afterwards served as an officer during the war of the revolution, are the persons to whom we allude. There was residing here, till within a few years, a black man, who, we have good reason to believe, was the one who shot Maj. Pitcairn, whose death forms so affecting an incident in that bloody affray. History relates that he was shot by a negro, and from the story of the one we allude to, and many corroborating circumstances, we are led to conclude that he was the person who did the deed. The person to whom we refer was named Peter Salem; he was a servant of Gen. Nixon during the revolution, was a native of Framingham, and removed here a few years since, where he died. Major Pitcairn was shot as he was mounting the redoubt, and fell into the arms of his son. His loss was a severe one to the British, and added not a little to their regret at the events of that day.

In April, 1776, the town of Leicester, agreeably to a resolve of the General Assembly, raised a sum of money to purchase ammunition and entrenching tools, and the same year raised a sum of money to pay for transporting the provisions to Watertown the year before, which they had furnished for the army. The poll taxes of all from this town who were in the continental army, were abated by the town, and the families of these soldiers were taken care of, and provided with whatever their necessities required, at the expense of their fellow citizens. In 1778, the sum of £30, of the then

*The names of the survivers are, Nathan Craige, Thomas Sprague, of Spencer, Isaac Livermore and Mathew Jackson, of Leicester, Daniel Hubbard formerly of Leicester, but now of Wallingford, Vt. and Elias Green.

currency, was voted to every continental soldier raised in this town, and a committee appointed to estimate the services performed by each citizen in the war, to which committee each man rendered an account, as well of the money paid by him, as of the services he had rendered, for the purpose of equalizing the burthens among the inhabitants. In 1779, the town raised £1000 for the payment of enlisted men for the ensuing year, and appointed a committee to employ men for this purpose, whenever they should be needed to supply the drafts upon the town. In the same year, they raised £4000, to pay the soldiers they had hired, and the contingent expenses attendant upon the same, and in a few months added £500 to this grant. In 1780, £5000 were, at first, raised for the pay of the soldiers, and in July, upwards of £22,000 were raised, one half to employ soldiers, and the other half to pay their "six months' men," then in the army. They, at the same time, voted one hundred and ten bushels of corn to every soldier who should march from this town, and in November of the same year, £60,000 were granted, to pay the soldiers for their services. These sums must have been enormous for a town of the size and wealth of this, at that time, even after reducing them by the depreciated value of the currency, which, as appears by the records of the town, was in the ratio of 40 to 1.*

These were not all the sums raised during this year by the town. Frequent calls for Beef were made upon them for the supply of the army, and in 1780, they raised £200 of the "new money," to comply with one of these calls, and the next year, £80 in silver, were appropriated for the same purpose. These sacrifices did not, by any means, embrace all that the inhabitants were called upon to make. The inhabitants were divided into classes, which, in 1780, consisted of ten, and whenever detachments of soldiers were called for, it was the duty of the respective classes to furnish their proportionate number, either from themselves, or by hiring substitutes. The bounties paid, for this purpose, were often large and burdensome in the extreme. A sum as high as $300 was, in some instances, paid to induce individuals to enlist. And these sums form no part of the computation of the foregoing sums. The classes, not only were obliged to go into the neighboring towns to procure their quotas, but, in some instances, sent as far as New York to hire

* We may judge somewhat of the value of the money, from a vote passed in 1780, "to pay Capt. Leviston £3 15s. for a horse to go to the taking of Burgoyne."

those men to enlist whose terms were expiring. The frequency of the drafts, and the length of the time for which those who first enlisted were holden, drew, in turn, almost every young man in town into the "service," at one time or other. The amount raised at different times, even in this town, now seems to be incredible, and we should almost apprehend some mistake in the matter, if we were not assured of the truth of the records by some who are living witnesses of the sufferings and privations of our fathers in the struggle. We are assured, by a gentleman of high standing and reputation, that his father, who was a respectable farmer in that day, was, more than once, compelled to dispose of portions of the neat stock from his farm, for the purpose of promptly meeting the payment of his proportion of the public taxes. Nor was this a solitary instance.

But we do not mention these instances of voluntary sacrifices, as evidence of any *peculiar* devotedness in this people to the cause of patriotism. They probably did no more, in proportion to their ability, than other towns around them. But a detail of these burdens and sacrifices is enough, without a single comment, to fix the character of the town for patriotism and public spirit. They have been enough too, we trust, to show, that the spirit of this people did not expend itself in idle resolutions, in favor of rights which they shrunk from defending in the hour of danger.

It must strike every one with some surprise, that, during the suspension of all judicial and executive authority in the state, the great mass of the people should have been kept quiet and orderly. It was truly a moral spectacle; it was a nation bursting the bands in which they had been bound, and ruling and governing themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner. The force of public opinion, at any time great, was then irresistible. The recommendations of Congress were law, and the committee of safety saw that the laws were executed, against whom no one dare rebel. In this, they were fully countenanced by the people, who, in their frequent meetings and discussions of national affairs, became convinced, that union and order were necessary to their existence as a people, and they had virtue enough to guard these most sacredly. Many of the votes upon these subjects we have already mentioned; others are upon the records, a few of which we would add. In 1777, a committee was appointed, to ascertain who were unfriendly to the government, and report their names to the general sessions of the Peace, and one man was *voted* by the town to be of that class, and

reported accordingly. The committees of safety and correspondence in towns, were usually constituted of the most influential citizens, whose number and character were sure to carry respect. In 1777, this committee here, consisted of Col. Joseph Henshaw, John Fletcher, Benjamin Richardson, James Baldwin, Jr., Isaac Green, Phinehas Newhall, and William Henshaw, and in subsequent years was enlarged in numbers.

In 1776, the inhabitants of this town opposed the attempt made by the legislature, to have the people form a constitution of government, because so many, whose voice should be heard in so important a question, were then absent in the service of their country. But when the proposal was made in 1779, they unanimously voted to instruct their representative to vote for a convention to form such a constitution. Seth Washburn and William Henshaw were the delegates in that convention from Leicester. When the constitution was presented to the people for their acceptance, the inhabitants of this town, at a meeting, held June 1, 1780, acted upon each of its articles separately, and adopted them almost unanimously, except the 3d article in the Bill of Rights, and some modification of one or two other articles, and voted, that if these corrections could not be effected, to accept of the same as it was presented to them, and directed their delegates to act accordingly. Col. Seth Washburn was chosen the first representative under the Constitution, and the votes for Governor, at the first election, were, 69 for John Hancock, 2 for James Bowdoin, and 1 for James Sullivan.

From the peace of 1783 till the commencement of the difficulties in 1786, nothing of particular interest occurred, deserving a place here. The town partook of the excitement of that period, and in the year 1786, chose their delegates to represent them in a county convention, to whom they detailed the grievances which they wished to have remedied. The convention sat in this town, and the delegates chosen were David Henshaw, Esq. and the late Col. Thomas Denny. They were both decided friends of the government, and possessed firmness of character together with great acuteness; and when, at length, the convention met, they so disconcerted the measures of those unfriendly to the government, that, after an ineffectual attempt to carry them through, the convention rose, and their meeting was dissolved without having effected any thing. The town also instructed their representative at the General Court, upon the subject of the real grievances under which

they were suffering, and which they wished to have redressed, but charged him by no means to agree to any change in the constitution of government. They had ever been opposed to the "tender act," as unconstitutional, and they now directed their representative to oppose its passing, when it should be acted upon by the legislature. This direct interference of the people with the State legislation, by means of instructions to their representatives, having been long discontinued, it is rather a subject of curiosity, in reading them now, to see how many of the general topics that would be likely to come under the notice of the legislature, were embraced within their scope. If representatives held themselves bound by their instructions, there was hardly a subject of interest that could arise, upon which they were not ready to act at once. This was literally the government of the people. The town were as prompt in acting upon subjects affecting the whole nation, as upon those of local interest alone. And when the subject of the confederacy of the colonies, in 1778, was proposed to them, they unanimously approved of the measure, and directed their representative "to aid it by all that lay in his power." Indeed, there was a surprising unanimity in all their proceedings during this dark and portentous era of our history. They were, undoubtedly, influenced in their measures by a few patriotic, public spirited men, who had most ardently engaged in the cause of liberty, and who had, withal, judgment and sagacity enough "to guide the whirlwind and direct the storm" of public feeling, so as to secure the independence of the country and the good of posterity. Some of these we have already named, but we are conscious that we cannot do them justice. The private histories of those men, and the anecdotes connected with them, illustrative of their characters and the character of the times in which they lived, have been forgotten, and but little can now be recalled. Those were days in which the individual character of every man was known and tried. A man must be for or against the existing government. In 1778, a list of every man in town, of the age of 21 years, and upwards, was made out, and each one called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the State, and those who should refuse were to be reported to the town. But, we believe, few, if any, had the hardihood to refuse to take the oath at that stage of the war. They would hardly have risqued the danger of popular power, when the people was the only power to which they could have appealed for protection against the sanction of such a call.

In the year 1787, the troubles by which the State had been distracted, had, in a slight degree, subsided, and so many of their own population, as well as of the inhabitants of almost every town, had been involved in that disastrous train of events, known as the "Shays war," that the town instructed their representative to vote for the pardon of the insurgents, and to endeavor to redress the grievances under which the people labored; among which they reckoned the unequal tax upon real and personal estate, the tax on polls, and the undue influence of Boston on the legislature, so long as it should continue to meet there.

Several persons were involved in that unhappy insurrection, whose names have either been forgotten, or we suppress them, from charity to their memories. Their efforts here, were always thwarted by the firmness of the "government men," who were unwearied in their efforts to quell the spirit of rebellion. Many anecdotes are told of the firmness of the friends of the government under circumstances the most trying and alarming. They showed no disposition to compromise the dignity and interests of the State. Early in the winter of 1786, which was a severe one, Day, one of the insurgent captains, having been towards Boston upon business connected with the rebellion, was returning through Leicester, on a very severe day, and immediately after a violent snow-storm that rendered the roads almost impassable. He was on horseback, and stopped at the dwelling house of Mr. Nathan Sargent, near the Worcester line, to warm him, and entered the house without ceremony. He laid his sword and hat upon a table, and taking a chair, observed that he was going to warm him. "Not until I know who you are," said Mr. Sargent, who had silently witnessed his abrupt entrance and conduct, "for these are suspicious times, and I must know who I entertain." Day, finding him resolute, assumed as much dignity and importance as possible, and announced himself as "*Captain Day.*" "Then get out of my house," said Mr. Sargent, and seizing his hat and sword, threw them into a snow bank, and drove Day out after them, who swore that "vengeance should light on him in less than a fortnight."

A few persons, taking advantage of the popular excitement, during the time of the insurrection, were chosen to offices of profit and trust from the Insurgent party; but they almost invariably became satisfied of their error, as soon as, by intercourse with intelligent patriots, they saw the dangerous tendency of their measures. We cannot, at this day, realize the horrors of the civil war that

then threatened, and, in many places, actually distracted the State. A house was literally divided against itself. The sound of arms was heard in every village, and those who encountered each other in hostile array, were often of the same household, or the same social circle. Neither sex nor age were exempt from the angry passions that prompted these warlike preparations. The women were, if possible, more clamorous than the men, whenever they took part with the insurgents; though we might record many honorable instances, where wives remained firm in their attachment to government, while their husbands were ready to go all lengths to shake off the wholesome restraints of that power.

It was customary, for the friends of government to wear a fillet of white paper in their hats, while the adherents of the opposite party adopted, as a badge of distinction, a sprig of evergreen. But, fortunately for the country, the evergreen, in the language of one in that day, soon withered; the arm of power scattered the insurgent forces, and the miserable and misguided adherents of Day, and Shays, and Wheeler, and Parsons were glad to sue for mercy to that power, which they had so lately risen up to crush. And their suit was not vain; policy, as well as a predisposition to clemency, spared their lives, and they were suffered to return to their homes in peace, though very much to the chagrin and mortification of many, whose excited passions called for a sacrifice of expiation for the political sins of their adversaries.

The insurrection of 1786 is rather a matter of state history, than that of any particular town. Many are alive who took part with the forces sent out by the government to quell the rebellion, and though they encountered great hardships and fatigue, and, at times, no inconsiderable degree of danger, we doubt whether they would desire to be crowned with laurels, although they were conquerers, or wish us to publish their names to the world as soldiers, on account of their feats of arms in that contest with their misguided brethren. It is not so long since those events occurred, that they, or those engaged in them, are forgotten. Many remember the scenes of uproar and confusion, into which the hitherto peaceable dwellings of the citizens were then thrown, by being made the quarters for the soldiery; and they remember too, the anxiety they felt at the apprehended attacks from the exasperated insurgents. Those, however, whose reason returned as their passions subsided, became convinced of their follies and their criminality, and many of them became the firmest supporters of the government. We,

perhaps, have dwelt too long upon this subject, but our remarks, though general in their terms, apply so well to the state of this town for several years, that they may be considered as its history, unless we should go so minutely into the investigation of the subject as to name the actors in the scenes, which, for reasons we have offered, we forbear to do.

In 1787, the Federal Constitution was presented to the states for their approbation, and a convention of Delegates from the several towns in Massachusetts was called, to meet at Boston, on the second Wednesday of January, 1788, to act upon its adoption, and Colonel Samuel Denny was chosen the delegate from Leicester. The constitution having been accepted, an election of officers under it was had, and the votes in this town were, 38 for Hon. Moses Gill for Representative in Congress, and 20 for Mr. Gill, and 19 for Gen. Artemas Ward, for elector of President.

We are now approaching, in chronological order, those events, that have too lately occurred, either to require, or justify, a detail of them. Indeed, no event connected with any important series, that we are aware of, has occurred, since the adoption of the Federal constitution, in this town. Events, however, to which no particular interest is attached now, may acquire importance at a future day, and their history be eagerly sought after. If we had foresight enough to distinguish these, we certainly would cheerfully record them here, if for no other reason than to save the future historian the many hour's labor of gathering them from the musty pages of a town record book. In 1794, minute men were raised, and a bounty paid them. But it was upon the ocean alone that our laurels were reaped in that war, and the "Oxford Army" borrowed little lustre from the achievements of Truxton and his associates.

We happily live at a time when men can look back upon the days of party excitement and animosities, that disturbed the tranquillity of the country, with feelings, if not of regret, certainly of surprise, at their violence and long duration. It is not within the scope of our plan, even if our inclinations prompted it, to trace the rise of the two political parties, which, for nearly thirty years, divided the public opinion in the United States. This town had its share of this excitement, though the degree of acrimony fell far short of that in many. They voted resolutions condemning the embargo, in 1808, and petitioning the President, (Jefferson) to take off the same. In 1812, they passed resolutions, condemning the then existing war with Great Britain, and chose a delegate to meet

a County convention to consult on measures of public policy. That party denominated Federalists were the most numerous in the town, while that distinctive title was borne by any party, though when in the plenitude of their strength they ever used their power in a liberal manner, and extended equal courtesy to their political opponents.

The growth and improvement of Leicester, as we have already observed, has been constant though gradual. The refinement in taste that has been effected in many parts of New England has not been entirely inoperative here. The growth of the village here has been so rapid, that individuals recollect the time, when from four to six houses were all that were erected in the village, where now there are nearly forty, besides the public buildings and others in progress of erection. The style of architecture is neat, and although the village can boast of no palace, it is not disfigured with one tenement that indicates poverty or want. There have been many improvements proposed, and so far as unanimity in design can promise success, they will be carried into effect, by which this village may vie with any in the country for beauty and neatness. A Bank, as we have already stated, was chartered and located in this town in the winter of 1826, and when, as is proposed, the building for that institution shall have been erected, and the congregational meeting house removed, so as to enlarge the common before it, and produce a proper symmetry in relation to the Academy, Leicester may boast of attractions in her scenery, her public improvements, enterprize and wealth, which all will be ready to acknowledge.

The situation of the town is healthy, and epidemics of a dangerous character have seldom prevailed. The average number of deaths, annually, may be reckoned at about fifteen, which will bear no fair proportion to the annual births. The population of the town has annually furnished emigrants to other towns, and other States, and there is scarcely a State in the Union that has not among its citizens natives of this town.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

We are aware that we have omitted the names of many in the foregoing sketches, which a sense of justice would require us to have inserted. Nothing but an inability to do any justice to them has debarred us from the pleasure of recording them. A few, however, whose histories we have been able to obtain, we feel ourselves warranted in noticing.

SETH WASHBURN.

Among those who acted a pretty important part in the events of our history, was the Hon. Seth Washburn, Esquire, whose name we have more than once had occasion to mention. He was a native of Bridgewater, and a lineal descendant of John Washburn, who was one of the original proprietors and settlers of that town. He was a native of England, and arrived in New England within a few years after the settlement of Plymouth:* He died in Bridgewater in 1670. Seth Washburn, the subject of this memoir, was great grandson of John Washburn. He removed to Leicester some time previous to the year 1750, but the precise time is not known. Though destitute of a good education, he successively held almost every office in the gift of the people of the town, and was a member of the Senate from this County during the years 1780, 1783, '84, '85, '86, and '87, in which body he is said to have possessed a very considerable influence. He was a firm patriot and a most unwavering and decided supporter of the rights of the Colonies. After his return from the service in 1775, which we have spoken of, he acted as "muster master" during the war, and aided the prosecution of it by every means in his power—though we do not know that he was, for any considerable time afterwards, in the service. He had been a soldier in the French war previous to 1749, and was ever esteemed a man of great courage and self possession. This was particularly observed in the engagement on Bunker Hill. Although he came late into the action, and the British were then on the point of forcing the redoubt and lines, and the Americans, after having expended their ammunition, were almost at the mercy of their exasperated foe, he showed no agitation, but delivered his commands with the utmost coolness and decision. He had a good deal of native eloquence, and whenever he addressed any body of men it was with propriety and effect. His business in life was that of a blacksmith until he became engaged in public affairs. He was distinguished for his piety and the urbanity of his manners. During the insurrection in 1786, he was a decided friend of the Government, and influential in checking the spirit that then prevailed inimical to the wholesome restraints of the laws. He died at the age of 70, in the year 1794, leaving two sons, one of whom, Joseph Washburn, was a member of the com-

* Whether he was the John Washburn who was Secretary of the Massachusetts Company, in London, in 1629, we have not been able to ascertain; but from the name, and the time of his removal to New England, we presume he may have been the same.

pany which marched to Cambridge, in 1775, and he afterwards served during the war of the revolution, having received during his service the commissions of Ensign and Lieutenant in the Continental service. After his return to Leicester from the army, he continued to reside there till his death in 1807. The other son of Seth Washburn now resides in Putney, Vermont.

THOMAS NEWHALL.

The name of Capt. Thomas Newhall, deserves a place among those distinguished for their usefulness and public spirit. His life presents but few incidents out of which to swell a biographical sketch, for it was passed in the peaceful retirement of his farm and his native town. He was not, however, inactive there. He possessed a vigorous mind and employed its powers for the public good, and, so far as his influence could extend, for the good of his country. He was a native of Leicester, and was born in 1732, and died in 1814, at the age of 82 years. We have already noticed his munificence to the Academy in this town, and we cannot better conclude this brief notice than by transcribing the judicious epitaph upon his tomb stone.

"Generous and patriotic through life: at an advanced age, he became a liberal benefactor of the inhabitants of this town, and to the literary institution established therein, of which he was one of the first trustees."

He left at his death a very considerable estate, but left no children.

THOMAS DENNY.

Another patriotic gentleman whose name we have mentioned, and who deserves a particular notice, was Thomas Denny, Esq. He was a man of uncommonly vigorous mind, and commanded great influence and respect, at a time, when talents and integrity rather than wealth or family, were the tests of merit. He was the son of Daniel Denny, whose name we have mentioned as one of the earliest settlers of the town, and was born in the year 1724.

He took a leading part in the affairs of the town early in life, and ever afterwards retained and increased his influence among those who best knew him. Some of the resolutions adopted by the town in regard to the aggressions of the mother Country, were, as we have already stated, the productions of his pen, and show, by their style and language, an education above that of many of his cotemporaries. He often represented the town in the General Court, during the difficult sessions of that body, before the revolution,

when they were constantly embroiled in contests with the representatives of the Royal Government. As an evidence of the confidence placed in him by his constituents, he was the only member chosen from this town to attend the Provincial Congress at Concord, in 1774. In this body he was one of the most useful and active members, and scarcely any one was listened to with more attention and respect in the debates of the assembly. After that Congress was adjourned to Cambridge, he was taken ill, and returned to Leicester, where he died, Oct. 23, 1774, at the age of 49. His death was a subject of deep regret to all who knew his worth. Had he lived, he must have taken a leading part in the events of the Revolution, in the incipient stages of which he had so decided an interest. He held the office of Colonel of the regiment of Militia, in the limits of which he resided, which was *then* an honorable mark of distinguished merit.

In connexion with him, we ought to mention his brother, Col. Samuel Denny, who, though he did not take so prominent a part in the transactions previous to the Revolution, was a leading man during it, and once commanded a regiment of men in the "service." He held many public offices in the town, and was a member of the Convention in 1788 that accepted the Constitution of the United States. He died in 1817, at the age of 86 years. Col. Thomas Denny left three children at his death. His son, bearing the same name, was a highly respectable and influential man during his life. He died Dec. 11, 1815. He was, at the time of his death, a member of the Board of Trustees of Leicester Academy, and often during his life represented the town in the General Court, and was, at that time, the wealthiest man in the town.

Col. Samuel Denny left five sons and three daughters. Three of his sons are yet living, viz. Nathaniel Paine, William, and Samuel.

WILLIAM HENSHAW.

Another individual who deserves honorable notice in this place is the late Col. William Henshaw. His biography deserves an abler pen, and a more complete detail than we have been able to give He was the son of Daniel Henshaw, who was an early proprietor of Leicester, and removed there in the year 1748, from Boston, where he had till then resided. William, the subject of this memoir, was born in Boston, Sept. 30, 1735, and removed with his father to Leicester. His opportunities, till his removal, for an education, had been good, but he received none from schools after that period. Yet, by his own industry and application, he acquired

a very good English education, and some knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. After his removal to Leicester, his time was mostly employed upon a farm. In 1759, he went, as a Lieutenant, into the service against the French and Indians, and served through that eventful campaign. Having many friends in Boston, he early became acquainted with the views and feelings of the patriots and ardently engaged in the cause of liberty. Many of the resolutions and "instructions" of the people of Leicester were drawn up, as we have already stated, by Col. Henshaw and evince a good literary taste while they exhibit an extremely accurate knowledge of the events that were transpiring as well as the abstract rights of the colonies. He was a member of the jury, who, at the April term of the Superior Court, in holden at Worcester, 1774, remonstrated against Chief Justice Oliver's acting as Judge and refused to act as jurors in case he did. The remonstrance was drawn with great spirit, and was from the pen of Col. Henshaw, we believe, as a draught of it in his hand writing is among his papers. In June, 1775, he was commissioned by the Provincial Congress, Adjutant General of the forces that had been then raised. This was the first appointment to that office, of any one after the authority of the mother country was renounced. He faithfully performed the duties of this office till the arrival of Gen. Gates, at Cambridge, who had been appointed Adjutant General, by the General Congress: and he continued to perform the duties of the office till the end of the campaign, as an assistant to General Gates. On the first of January, 1776, he was commissioned by Congress as a Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th Regiment of Infantry, and was with his regiment during the campaign of 1776, in and near New York. The precise time of his discharge from the army we cannot now state. But after his return, he retired to his farm in Leicester. He often held the highest offices in the gift of his townsmen, and always, we believe, faithfully performed the duties of his station. He died, at the age of 85, in February, 1820. He retained his mental faculties till his death. A few years previous to that time, Gov. Brooks applied to him for information concerning certain questions relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill, and we transcribe his letter in return, in order to show the part he took in the transactions of that day, and to exhibit to what degree he retained the vigor of his mind at the age of 82.

"DEAR SIR—When Breed's Hill was taken possession of by our troops, I was at home. The best information of the action I had

from General Pomeroy, who was at the rail fence above the works our troops threw up. He informed me, they stuffed hay between the rails of the fence, to prevent the enemy discovering them, and ordered the soldiers to retain their fire till they advanced within six or seven rods, then gave the orders to fire, which caused them to retreat. The enemy formed and attacked them the second time, and retreated in like manner. They formed, advanced, and rushed on to the fence the third time, and obliged our troops to retreat, after they had lost a large number of their men, and Major Pitcairn at their head. The Americans went to Breed's Hill on the night of the 16th of June, the battle commenced on the 17th, and our forces returned to Cambridge. I believe there was only verbal orders given to go to Breed's Hill, and that they had neither cannon nor field pieces. Gen. Ward, the fore part of May, requested Col. Gridley, Mr. Richard Devens, one of the committee of safety in Charlestown, and self, to view the heights from the camp to Charlestown. We did so, and made a written report, as follows: viz. 1. To build a Fort on Prospect Hill. 2. To proceed to Bunker's Hill, and fortify it. 3. To Breed's Hill, and do the same. Our object was, if obliged to retire from Breed's Hill, the fort at Bunker's Hill would cover our retreat with the cannon, and drive their ships out of the rivers; also would prevent the enemy from keeping possession of Charlestown. Why the report was not approved, I cannot say—perhaps others recommended to proceed first to Charlestown. What returns I am possessed of—will send with the orderly book, which contains General Ward's orders."

Signed Wm. Henshaw, and addressed to His Excellency John Brooks, Esq.

Our only object is to present the outlines of a memoir, and not to eulogize, and we cannot better conclude this, than by extracting a part of an obituary notice, published at the time of his death, in the Boston Palladium.

"Few have lived so little known to the world, and few so deserving of its praise, as Col. Henshaw. His character was of that unassuming cast which shrinks from the scrutiny of observation, and is better pleased with the consciousness, than with the appearance of acting right. He was equally an object of admiration in his military and private life. He served as a Lieutenant in the French war, and as Colonel through the struggle of our revolution. He was always distinguished for his clearness in council and intrepidity in action, and we find honorable mention of him in several

histories of those times. After the Revolution, he retired to Leicester, and, entering on the business of private life, became an exemplary husband and father."

The foregoing is but an extract from the notice of his death, and we should have been glad to have transcribed in this place the tribute to his memory, which was paid at the time of his decease, by his friend, the late Gov. Brooks, but the newspaper containing it has been mislaid, and we must content ourselves with this short notice, till more leisure on our own part, or some abler pen, shall do his memory more ample justice. He was not, alone, so prominent, as to deserve notice in this place, of the sons of Daniel Henshaw. His brother, Joseph, who resided here, was equally active in all public concerns, and commanded as great influence and respect. He often represented the town in the General Court, and was, for a considerable time, chairman of the committee of safety in the county of Worcester, which was formed from the several committees of safety and correspondence of the towns.

David, another brother, though younger than the forementioned brothers, early took part in the events of the last years of the revolution, and was especially active in the events which succeeded it, having ever been a firm supporter of the Government, and a friend to good order. Both William and David Henshaw were, for many years, acting magistrates in the county, and distinguished for their intelligence and independence in performing their duties in that capacity.

Both the brothers left pretty numerous families. One of the sons of the latter is, at present, a member of the Senate of this state from the county of Suffolk.

JOSEPH ROBERTS.

In our sketches of the Ecclesiastical History of this town, we spoke of the Rev. Mr. Roberts and were unable to give any further account of him than we then gave. But we have since received a more particular account of him by the politeness of a gentleman of high respectability* which we subjoin here. The Rev. Joseph Roberts was born in Boston, at the foot of Copps Hill, in 1720. He graduated at Cambridge in 1741, and was probably from a family in no way distinguished, as his name is found among the last of the class that graduated that year. In 1754, he was settled at Leicester and dismissed in 1762, as we have already stated. He soon af-

* Isaac Fisk, Esq. of Weston, Register of Probate for the County of Middlesex.

ter removed to Weston and occasionally preached in that and the neighboring towns. He purchased the estate about the same time upon which he resided till his death. He took an active part during the Revolution, as one of the committee of the town to enlist and provide for the soldiers. He was a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and among his papers, after his death, was found a draught, in his own hand writing, of a frame of Government, many of the principles of which are incorporated into our present Constitution, and he is believed to have taken an active and efficient part in forming and adopting this Constitution. He was often afterwards a representative from Weston.

He became connected with a cunning and shrewd speculator in business, and, in consequence, became involved in land suits and lost a considerable part of his property. His temper thus became sour, and in the latter part of his life he became extremely avaricious. He died like a beggar and after his death there were found in his chambers several bags of money which had been hoarded up for years; as, on removing them, the bottoms of the bags were too much decayed to hold their contents. He denied himself, for many years before his death, the conveniences and even the necessaries of life.

All the clothing he possessed at his death, would have disgraced the meanest beggar in the streets. Such was his love of money that he suffered himself to be committed to jail on a judgment growing out of his connexion with the speculator before mentioned, and remained in jail two or three years, till he compelled his creditor, in this way, to relinquish a part of the debt for the sake of recovering the remainder. Mr. Roberts possessed more than ordinary natural powers of mind, but they became debased by the sordidness of his disposition. He died a bachelor, at the advanced age of 91, in April, 1811.

Note to the Reader. An apology is due for presenting the foregoing sketches in so many parts imperfect. We had become pledged to furnish them within a given period, not suspecting at the time the labor of preparing them. A multiplicity of engagements, in addition to the shortness of the time for preparation, has compelled us to present these in a form less perfect than we had hoped, when we assumed the task. This apology, while it is due to the reader will, we hope, in some measure, screen from the severity of criticism.

THE WRITER.

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

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HISTORY OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF NORTHBOROUGH.

THE EDITORS ARE INDEBTED TO THE REV. JOSEPH ALLEN, OF NORTHBOROUGH, FOR THE FOLLOWING SKETCHES.

Northborough, though one of the youngest and smallest incorporated towns in the County of Worcester, was, for nearly 50 years, prior to the date of its incorporation, a part of Westborough; first as part of an undivided whole, and then as a separate precinct or parish. This carries us back to the year 1717, before which time, Westborough itself, including Northborough, belonged to the large and ancient town of Marlborough. Northborough then, as being included in Marlborough, may lay claim to considerable antiquity. Marlborough was incorporated in 1660, only about 30 years after the commencement of the Massachusetts Colony. The stream of emigration may easily be traced back from this, which was for many years a frontier settlement, bordering upon the unexplored wilderness, to the fountain head. The settlement in Marlborough was commenced four years before the date of its incorporation, by emigrants from Sudbury, which was older by about 20 years than Marlborough, having been incorporated in 1638. The next step carries us back to Concord, which was purchased of the natives and incorporated in 1635.*

The next step brings us to Watertown, where a settlement was made in 1630, the same year that Boston began to be built. It was in this year that a large number of emigrants arrived from England, which served greatly to enlarge and strengthen the Colony, then in its infancy. The oldest town in the Massachusetts Colony is Salem, where a settlement was commenced in 1628, eight years after the landing of our fathers at Plymouth.

* 1. Mass. Hist. Col. Vol. I.

Thus we see that within the short space of 30 years from the first planting of this Colony, the wilderness had been explored, and a permanent settlement effected, by our enterprising forefathers, in the ancient town of Marlborough, which then included Westborough, Southborough, and Northborough, now within the limits of Worcester County.

It will not therefore be improper to prefix to the history of this town some account of the first settlement and early history of the Plantation at Marlborough.

The following petition was presented to the General Court in May, 1656.

"To the Hon. Governor, Dep. Governor, Magistrates and Deputies of the General Court now assembled in Boston."

"The humble petition of several of the Inhabitants of Sudbury, whose names are hereunder written, humbly sheweth; that whereas your petitioners have lived divers years in Sudbury, and God hath beene pleased to increase our children, which are now divers of them grown to man's estate, and wee, many of us, grown into years, so as that wee should bee glad to see them settled before the Lord take us away from hence, as also God having given us some considerable quantity of cattle, so that wee are so streightened that wee cannot so comfortably subsist as could bee desired; and some of us having taken some pains to view the country; wee have found a place which lyeth westward, about eight miles from Sudbury, which wee conceive might bee comfortable for our subsistence:

"It is therefore the humble request of your Petitioners to this Hon'd Court, that you would bee pleased to grant unto us ( ) eight miles square, or so much land as may containe to eight miles square, for to make a plantation.

"If it shall please this Hon'd Court to grant our petition, it is farther than the request of your petitioners to this Hon'd Court, that you will bee pleased to appoint Mr. Thomas Danforth or Liesten[t] Fisher to lay out the bounds of the Plantation; and wee shall satisfy those whom this Hon'd Court shall please to employ in it. So apprehending this weighty occasion, wee shall no farther trouble this Hon'd Court, but shall ever pray for your happinesse."

Edmond Rice,	Thomas King,	William Ward,
John How,*	John Bent, Sen'r.	John Maynard,

* According to a tradition handed down in the family, the first English person that came to reside in Marlborough, was John How, son of a How, of Watertown, supposed to be John How, Esq. who came from Warwickshire, in

John Woods, Edward Rice, John Ruddocke,
Richard Newton, Peter Bent, Henry Rice,
Thomas Goodenow.

"That this is a true copy of the original petition presented to the General Court, May, 1656, left on file and thereto compared, is Attested, per EDWARD RAWSON, *Sec'ry.*"

To this petition the following answer was made.

At a General Court held in Boston, May 14, 1756.

"In answer to the petition of the aforesaid inhabitants of Sudbury, the Court judgeth it meete to grant them a proportion of land of six miles, or otherwise, in some convenient form equivalent thereunto, at the discretion of the committee in the place desired, provided it hinder no former grant, that there bee a Towne settled with twenty or more families within three years, so as an able ministry may bee there maintained. And it is ordered that Mr. Edward Jackson, Capt. Eleazer Lusher, Ephraim Child, with Mr. Thomas Danforth, or Liesten[a]l Fisher, shall bee, and hereby are appointed as a committee to lay out the bounds thereof, and make return to the next Court of Election, or else the grant to bee void.

"This is a true copy taken out of the Court's Books of Records, as Attests EDWARD RAWSON, *Secr'y.*"

England, and who, as appears from a record in the possession of Mr. Adam How, of Sudbury, also a descendant of John, was himself the son of John How, of Hodinhull, and connected with the family of Lord Charles How, Earl of Lancaster, in the reign of Charles I.

Mr. How came from Watertown to Marlborough, built a cabin a little to the east of the Indian Planting field, where his descendants lived for many generations. By his prudence and kindness, he gained the good will and confidence of his savage neighbors, who accordingly made him the umpire in all their differences.

The following is related as one of the verdicts of this second Solomon. Two Indians, whose corn fields were contiguous, disputed about the possession of a pumpkin, which grew on a vine, that had transgressed the limits of the field in which it was planted. The vine was planted in one field; the pumpkin grew in the other. The dispute grew warm, and might have led to serious consequences, had it not occurred to them to refer the matter in debate to the arbitration of the white man, their neighbor. Mr. How is accordingly sent for, who after having given a patient hearing to both parties, directs them to bring him a knife, with which he divides the pumpkin into two equal parts, giving half to each. Both parties extol the equity of the judge, and readily acquiesce in the decision, pleased, no doubt, quite as much with the manner in which the thing was done, as in admiration of the justice of the deed.

The descendants of John How are very numerous in Marlborough, and in the towns in the vicinity. There are 28 of the name of How on the list of voters, in Marlborough, for the present year.

Col. Thomas How was a son of the above, who, for many years, was one of the leading men in the town. John How died sometime before 1686, as appears by a deed of his son Josiah to Thomas, of that date. Rev. Perley How, of Surry, N. H. was a descendant of John, and of Col. Thomas How.

The Plantation was accordingly soon commenced in the neighborhood of Ockoocangansett, (the Indian name of the hill back of the old Meeting House in Marlborough,) and thence extending to Whipsuppenicke, (a hill about a mile southeasterly of the former,) and the neighboring parts. By this name, Whipsuppenicke, or Whipsufferadge, as it was sometimes written, the English Plantation of Marlborough was known, till its incorporation, in 1660.

Of the Indian Plantation at Marlborough, called, from the hill abovenamed, Ockoocangansett, some account will be given hereafter.

A plan of the English plantation was made in May, 1667, by Samuel Andrews, surveyor, which was approved by the Deputies, 17th 3mo. 1667. WM. TORREY, *Clerk.*

Consented to by the Magistrates. EDWARD RAWSON, *Scc'y.*

This plan was made on parchment on a scale of two inches to a mile, and is now in the hands of Mr. Silas Gates of Marlborough.

The plantation contained by admeasurement 29,419 acres, which, with the 6000 acres reserved for the Indians, of which we shall presently speak, amounted to 35,419 acres. The Indian planting field, on Ockoocangansett, the hill back of where the old meeting house stood, was included within the bounds of the English plantation, and formed a square containing about two hundred acres. From the northwestern angle of this field the boundary line between the Indian plantation on the east, and the English plantation, on the west, extends three miles north, seven degrees west, to a point a little beyond the river Assabett*. From this point the boundary line runs seven miles west, twenty five degrees south, (cutting off what is now the northwest angle of Northborough, and which forms what are called the *New Grants.*) Thence five miles south-southeast, to the south west extremity of the plantation; thence two miles and three-fourths of a mile east, nine degrees north, leading into Cedar swamp; thence southeast, two hundred and fifty six rods on Sudbury River; thence two miles and three quarters, due east; thence two miles and one hundred and twenty rods northeast, thirteen degrees north; thence three

*This name is written and spoken variously by different persons. In the report of the Canal Commissioners presented at the recent session of the Legislature of this State, it is written *Elsebeth*, and is supposed to be a corruption of *Elizabeth*. By some aged persons, it is called *Elsebeth*; in Whitney's Hist. *Assabet*. In the earliest records of Marlborough, however, it is almost uniformly written with a final *h*, *Asabeth* or *Assabeth*. If either of the two last letters are omitted, it should probably be the *t*. In which case the name would be *Assabeh*.

hundred and forty eight rods north, seventeen degrees east; thence one mile and three fourths of a mile due north, which reaches to the Indian line; then three miles, due west, on this line, which completes the boundaries of the English plantation.

It would seem, from the above account, that the proprietors exceeded the limits of their grant by more than 6000 acres. We are not to conclude, however, that they acted fraudulently in this business; since it appears that the draft of the plantation was presented to the General Court for their acceptance, and approved by the Deputies and Magistrates.

The form of the plantation was evidently regulated by a regard to the surface and soil. Thus the boundary lines on the north and west included all the meadows on the Assabeth, west of the Indian plantation, and the extensive intervale, including several large meadows and cedar swamps, which runs through nearly the whole extent of Northborough and Westborough. The boundaries on the south and east were also fixed with the same sagacity and foresight.

It is said that the meadows, at the first settlement of our country, produced much larger crops of grass, of a much better quality, than at the present day. This circumstance, together with the difficulty of subduing the uplands, will account for the eagerness manifested by the first settlers to possess a good supply of meadow grounds.*

The first meeting of the proprietors of the English plantation, was holden 25th of the VIIth month (September) 1656.†

In 1657, the following eight names are found among the proprietors, in addition to the thirteen original petitioners above mentioned, making up the number of twenty one.

* It appears from the early records of Marlborough, that for many years after its incorporation, the town was greatly infested by wolves and rattlesnakes.

In a single year, (1683) the town paid a bounty for no fewer than *twenty three* wolves. In 1680, the following record was made. "Voted, to raise thirteen men *to go out to cil rattelsnakes*, eight to Cold Harbour-ward, and so to the other place they cal boston, (now the northwestern corner of Westborough) and five to Stoney Brook-ward, to the places thereabout. John Brigham to cal out seven with him to the first, and Joseph Newton four with him, to the latter, and they were to have two shillings apiece per day, paid out of a town rates."

† "Sept. 25th. 1656. Upon amitinge of the petitioners apoynted to take sum course to lay out the plantation granted to several inhabitants of Sudbury, it was ordered that all that doe take up lottes in that plantation shall pay all publique charges that shall arise upon that plantation, according to their house lottes and to be resident there in two years or set in a man that the town shall aprove one, or else too loose their lotts; but if God shall take away any man by death, he have liberty to give his lott to whom he will."

William Kerly,	Samuel Rice,	Peter King,
John Rediat,	John Johnson,	Christopher Banister.
Solomon Johnson,	Thomas Rice,	

"At a meeting of the proprietors of this plantation the 26th of Xber, (December) 1659.

"It is ordered that all such as lay clayme to any interest in this new plantation at Whipsufferadge, (by the Indians called Whipsuppenicke) are to perfect their house lots by the 25th of March next insueing, or else to loose all their interest in the aforesaid plantation."

Agreeably to this order, thirty eight house lots, including one for a minister, and one for a smith, were set off, and granted to the proprietors, the 26th of Nov. 1660.

Besides the persons already mentioned, the following had house lots assigned to them, at this date.

Joseph Rice,	Richard Ward,	John Barrett,
John How, Jr.	Benjamin Rice,	Jos. Holmes,
Henry Kerley,	John Bellows,	Samuel How,
Richard Barns,	Abraham How,	Henry Axtell,
Andrew Belcher,	Tho. Goodenow, Jr.	John Newton.
Obediah Ward,	John Rutter,	

These thirty eight house lots, amounting in all to 992½ acres consisted of some of the best and most commodious tracts of land in Marlborough. They contained from fifty to fifteen acres each, according to the interest of the several proprietors in the plantation. The principal part of the land, which was not taken up for house lots, with the exception of Chauncey, (now Westborough and Northborough,) was left common (called *Cow Commons*) to be disposed of by subsequent grants.

The following boundaries were assigned to the *Cow Commons* in 1662.

"From John Alcocks line (now known by the name of *the Farm*) to Stoney Brook; thence up the brook to Crane Meadow, and so along to Stirrup Meadow Brook, and to be extended as the Brooke runs to Assibathe River, and down the said river till it comes to the Indian line. This is, and shall remain a perpetual Cow Common for the use of this town, never to bee altered without the consent of all the inhabitants and proprietors thereof at a full meeting; excepting four score acres of upland this town hath reserved within the aforesaid tract of land to accommodate some such desirable persons withall as need may require, opportunity present, and the town accept."

A vote was passed at a meeting of the proprietors in 1705, to divide the Cow Commons among the original proprietors and such as had acquired rights in the plantation, in proportion to the first grants.

So early as 1660, it appears that measures had been adopted by the proprietors of Marlborough, for the maintenance of public worship; and that Mr. William Brimsmead, afterwards ordained as their pastor, was employed as a preacher.

In the following year, they voted to build a house for their minister; and, in 1662, the frame of a house, with the house lot on which it stood, were granted to Wm. Brimsmead, Minister.*

In 1662, a rate was made of 12 pence per acre upon all house lots for building a Meeting House; and again, in 1664, of 3½ pence per acre for finishing the house. This house, which was afterwards burnt by the Indians, stood on the old common, within the limits of the Indian planting field, which, Hutchinson says, "caused great disputes and discouragements."†

It appears from the following record, that the land on which the Meeting House was erected was afterwards purchased of an Indian, whose title to the land was probably disputed by his brethren of the Indian Plantation.

"1663, April 4. Anamaks, an Indian of Whipsuppenicke, for divers reasons and considerations, sold to John Ruddock and John How, for the use of the town of Marlborough, the land that the Meeting House now stands on—also the land for the highway on the fore side of said Meeting House, and so upon a square of ten feet, round about the said Meeting House." This land, with the addition of half an acre purchased in 1688, of Daniel, Samuel, and Nathaniel Gookin, sons of Maj. Gen. Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, constitutes what is now the old common, the whole of which did

* The house built for Mr. Brimsmead stood on the lot of land west of Ockoocangansett, not far from the spot on which the old Meeting House was afterwards erected. There is a tradition that Mr. Brimsmead's house was set on fire by the Indians in King Philip's war, and that the flames communicated with the Meeting House, which was the occasion of its being burnt.

It may be interesting to the antiquary to learn the form and dimensions of a dwelling house erected more than 160 years since. It was 36 ft. by 18 ft. and 12½ ft. high between the joints. It had four windows in front, and two at the west end. It had besides two gables in front, 10 ft. wide and 8 ft. square, (projecting 8 ft.) with two small windows on the front side of the gables. It was built by contract for £15, to be paid in corn; one third wheat, one third rye, and one third Indian corn. Wheat at 4*s*. 6*d*. rye at 4*s*. and Indian corn at 3*s*. per bushel. For the payment of this sum, a rate was made of 7½ pence per acre upon all house lots in the Plantation.

† Hist. Col. I. p. 167.

not come into the possession of the town till 1706, when the half acre above mentioned was purchased by Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, "for the use of the town, to set a Meeting House on."

Till 1675, nothing serious appears to have occurred to interrupt the prosperity of the inhabitants of this flourishing settlement. But their prosperity received a severe check in the war which now ensued. After the destruction of Lancaster, (Feb. 10, 1676, O. S.) a party of the enemy directed their course through Marlborough, where they committed some depredations, on their way to Sudbury and Medfield, in the latter of which places nearly 50 dwelling houses were burnt, and 15 persons lost their lives.

A second attack was made upon the English settlement at Marlborough, on the 20th of the following month, which, though no lives were lost, was attended with more disastrous consequences. It was Lord's day; and the inhabitants were assembled for public worship, when the preacher, the Rev. Mr. Brimsmead, was interrupted in the midst of his discourse by the appalling cry, that the Indians were advancing upon them. The Assembly instantly dispersed; and, with a single exception,* succeeded in reaching the neighboring garrison house in safety before the enemy came up. But though they defended themselves, they could afford no protection to their property, much of which was wasted or destroyed. Their Meeting House and many of their dwelling houses were burned to the ground; their fruit trees hacked and pilled; their cattle killed or maimed, so that marks of their ravages were visible for many years.

The alarm occasioned by this attack, and the defenceless state to which the inhabitants were reduced, led them to retire from the place, and to seek shelter in a more populous neighborhood. Shortly after the close of the war, which lasted little more than a year, they returned to their farms, and were permitted for many years to cultivate them in peace.†

* The person to whom allusion is here made was Moses Newton, grandfather of the late Deac. Paul Newton, of this town. Being detained behind the rest in the benevolent attempt to rescue an aged and infirm female, who would otherwise have been exposed to certain destruction, he received a ball in his elbow, which deprived him in a measure of the use of his arm ever after. Solomon Newton, a grandson of the above, is now living, (1826) aged 92 years, with his son, Willard Newton, Esq. in Southborough, on the farm taken up by his great-grand-father, Richard Newton, nearly 170 years ago. Richard came from England, and was one of the 13 original proprietors of Marlborough. Richard had three sons, Moses, Ezekiel and John. Moses was the father of eight sons and two daughters, viz. Moses, Jonathan, James, Josiah, David, Edward, Hannah, Mercy, Jacob, and Ebenezer.

† There are no records in the Proprietors' Books of what took place be-

Soon after their return, they proceeded to the erection of a new Meeting House, which, like the former, was thatched with straw, or rather a species of tall grass, taken from the meadow since called, from that circumstance, Thatch Meadow. This building, which was left in an unfinished state, lasted but a few years. In 1680, an unsuccessful attempt was made to enlarge and repair it; and at length, in 1688, a larger and more commodious house was erected, near the site of the former, which lasted more than one hundred and twenty years, having stood till the new Meeting House in the east Parish was erected, in 1809.*

Prior to the year 1684, it appears that nothing effectual had been done towards purchasing a title to the land "cleare of the Indians, who were continually making demands upon the towne." The Plantation was commenced under the auspices of the Gen. Court; and, as 6000 acres, bordering upon this Plantation, had been reserved by order of the Court, for the use of the Indians, nothing further seems to have been thought necessary for many years, either by the English or the Indians, to give the former a perfect title to their lands. It was not indeed till the Indian Plantation was broken up, and most of the inhabitants dispersed, that the Indians of Natick and Wamesit, (now a part of Tewksbury,) who belonged to the same tribe with the Marlborough Indians, put in their claims to a right in the soil which had been cultivated by the English now for nearly 30 years.

At length, in the winter of 1684, a Committee of three persons

tween May, 1675, and July, 1677. It appears that the inhabitants had returned some time before the latter date. It appears from the Records of the General Court, that preparations for defence against the Indians had been made as early as 1670. "Ordered, that the Surveyor General shall forthwith deliver unto Maj. Hathorn, or to Lieut. Samuel Ward, 60 great shot, fit for the guns in the Fort at Marlborough. A Fort was maintained there through the war.

* The old Meeting House was valued, in 1689, at £10; the pulpit at £4, "which were improved in the new Meeting House for carrying on the finishing of that."—It would appear, from the following vote, which passed with great unanimity at a meeting of the proprietors, May 21, 1688, that there had been some controversy respecting the location of the new Meeting House, and that it was even then in contemplation to divide the town into two parishes.

"Voted, That if the westerly part of the town shall see cause afterwards to build another Meeting House, and find themselves able so to do, and maintain a minister; then the division to be made by a line at the cart-way at Stirrup Brook, where Conecticot way now goeth over, (now within the limits of Northborough,) and so to run a parallel line with the west line of the bounds of the town." It would seem highly probable, from this vote, that there were inhabitants then living west of the line thus defined, and which was afterwards (1717) made the boundary line between Marlborough and Westborough.

was appointed by the town to treat with the Indians; who, April 17th and 18th, with the help of Maj. Peter Bulkley and Capt. Thomas Hincksman, made a bargain that the town should pay them £31 for a deed in full. The town accepted the conditions, and agreed to bring in the money, (assessed upon the proprietors, now 50 in number,) to the Meeting House, on the 20th of May next, which was accordingly done, and the deed signed by the Indians presented to the town, who directed that it should be kept by Abraham Williams, as also the plat of the plantation made by Samuel Andrews, of which an account has already been given.

A Copy of the Indian Deed of the Plantation of Marlborough.

"To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, Greeting,

KNOW YEE, That *we*, the Indian inhabitants of the Plantations called Natick and Wamesit," (now part of Tewksbury,) "in the Massachusetts Colonie, in New England, namely," (the names of the grantees are written below, with the omission of Andrew Pilim or Pitimee, and John Wamesqut, and the addition of Edmund Asowonit, making the whole number 25,) "for and in consideration of the sum of *thirty one pounds* of lawful money of New England, which said sum, wee the said" (here the names are repeated,) "do acknowledge ourselves to have received of Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, both of the town of Marlborough, in the County of Middlesex, in New England, who, in the said payment, not only for themselves, but also as agents in behalf of all the rest of their fellow purchasers, belonging to the said town of Marlborough, and of the said sum of *thirty one pounds*, and of every part and parcel thereof, wee the said" (names repeated) "for ourselves, and for our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do freely, clearly, and wholly, exonerate, acquit, and discharge the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice and all their said fellow purchasers belonging to the said town of Marlborough, and every of them, and their heirs, executors, administrators, and every of them forever; have given, granted, bargained, sold, and by these presents, do give, grant, bargain, sell, and confirm, unto the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, and unto all their fellow purchasers, belonging to the said Town of Marlborough, and unto all and every of their several heirs and assigns forever, all that tract of land, which is contained within the bounds of the Town, Township, or Plantation, called Marlborough aforesaid, as the said bounds were laid out, plotted and represented by Mr. Samuel Andrews, of Cambridge, un-

to the Court of the Massachusetts Colonie aforesaid, and by the said Court accepted and recorded, that is to say all Uplands, Meadows, Swamps, Woods, Timber, Fountains, Brooks, Rivers, Ponds, and Herbage, within the said bounds of the said Town, Township, or Plantation of Marlborough, together with all and singular the appurtenances thereof, and all manner of profits, gains, and advantages, arising upon, or from, the said tract of land, which the said Abraham Williams, or Joseph Rice, or all, or any of their fellow purchasers, belonging to the town of Marlborough aforesaid, at any time formerly had, or now have, or hereafter at any time may, or shall have; (except a certain farm, some years ago laid out unto Mr. John Alcock, deceased, which lyeth within the bounds of said town or township of Marlburrough, and is by us, the said" [names repeated] "utterly and totally exempted and excluded from this present bargain.) *To have and to hold* all the forementioned tract of land" (here the description is repeated) "to their own proper use and improvement, as is above declared, (except the farm before excepted,) *to themselves*, the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, and to all their said fellow purchasers, belonging to the said Marlburrough, and unto all and several their heirs and assigns forever, in a good and sure estate of inheritance, in fee simple, without any claims or demands, any obstruction, eviction, expulsion, or molestation whatsoever, from us the said" (names repeated,) "or from the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of us the said Indians, or either of us, or from any other person or persons whatsoever, acting by, from, or under us or them, or any of them, our said heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns. Furthermore, wee, the said" (names repeated) "do covenant and grant, with, and too, the said Abraham Williams and Joseph Rice, and all their said fellow purchasers, belonging to said Marlburrough, that wee, the above named Indians, have been, until the conveyance and assurance made by these presents, the true and proper owners of all the said tract of land, lying within the bounds of the plantation or township of Marlburrough, together with all and singular the appurtenances thereof, in our own right, and to our own use, in a good absolute and firm estate of inheritance, in fee simple, and have full power, good right, and lawful authority to grant, bargain, sell, conveigh, and assure, the said tract of land, and every part and parcel thereof, with all and singular the appurtenances of the same, as is before, in these presents, mentioned; and wee, the said" (names repeated) "do warrant and assure that all the tract of

land, and all and every the appurtenances thereof, by these presents, alienated and sold, have been and are at the time of signing and sealing of this Deed of sale, utterly and totally free, and clear from any former bargains, sales, gifts, grants, leases, mortgages, judgments, executions, extents, and incumbrances whatsoever; and wee, the said" (names repeated) "for ourselves, and our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do, and shall, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, (as occasion shall be offered) confirm, defend, and make good, unto all intents and purposes, this whole bargain and sale aforesaid, and unto all and several their heirs and assigns forever. *In witness* of all which premises, wee, the said" (names repeated) "have hereunto set our hands and seals, this twelfth day of June, in the year of our Lord Christ, one thousand six hundred, eighty and four, Annoq. Regni Regis Caroli Secundi XXXVI.

Andrew Pilim (Pitimee)
Attorney to old F. Waban.
signum
John ⋈ Nasquanet
signum
William ⋈ Wononatomog
signum
John ⋈ Speen
signum
Lawrence ⋈ Nowsawane
signum
Jacob ⋈ Ponopohquin
his mark
Jeremy ⋈ Sosoohquoh
his mark
Samuel ⋈ William
signum
Nathaniel ⋈ Quonkatohn
James Speen
signum
John ⋈ Wamesqut
signum
Job ⋈ Pohpono
his mark
Benjamin ⋈ Tray
his mark
Sosowun ⋈ noo
signum
James ⋈ Wiser
Simon Betogkom
his mark
Great ⋈ John
Thomas Waban
his mark
Abraham ⋈ Speen
his mark
Great ⋈ James
signum
Jacob ⋈ Petowat
signum
Jehoja ⋈ kin
signum
Peter ⋈ Ephraim
Attorney for Jno. Awoosamug.
signum
John ⋈ Awoosamug
signum
Thom. ⋈ Dublet
signum
Benjamin B Boho.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, in presence of us witnesses,

Simon Crosby
John Curtis
his mark
Henry ⋈ Rice
John Magus
Daniel Takawompait } Indians.

"June 11th and 12th, 1684. At a Court held at Natick among the Indians, there appeared in Court, and before me, all the sealers and subscribers to this deed, being twenty five (there are twen-

ty six signatures) persons in number, and freely acknowledged this writing to be their act and deed."

"As Attests, DANIEL GOOKIN, *Sen'r Assistant.*"

"This Deed entered in the Register at Cambridge. Lib. 9. page 293—299. 7. 2. 85. By THO: DANFORTH, *R.*"

It will be seen from the above signatures, that, besides the two Indian witnesses, John Magus and Daniel Takawompait, four others, viz. Andrew Pitimee, James Speen, Simon Betogkom, and Thomas Waban, wrote their own names. Daniel Takawompait, or Tokkohwompait, was a pastor of the church in Natick, in 1698, ordained by the Rev. and holy man of God, JOHN ELIOT. He is said to have been a person of great knowledge.* Thomas Waban was probably a son of old Waban, the first Indian convert in Massachusetts, and one who supported a consistent christian character till his death, which happened in 1674, at the age of 70.† Maj. Gen. Daniel Gookin, before whom the deed was acknowledged, was the friend and fellow laborer of Eliot, an enlightened, virtuous, and benevolent magistrate. He belonged to Cambridge, where he died in 1687, aged 75.

Two others, whose names are affixed to this instrument, viz. John Speen, and John Awoosamug, are mentioned in the account of Dochester.‡ The former of whom, it appears, was for some time a teacher, till he became addicted to intemperance, when he was laid aside. The latter, though he had been propounded to join the church, had been excluded on account of his quick and passionate temper, but discovered marks of penitence during his last sickness, which satisfied the scruples of his brethren.

The Indian Plantation of Ockoocangansett,§ or Marlborough.

Some time previous to the commencement of the English Plantation, as appears from the following order of the General Court, the Indians had a grant of a township in that place.

"In reference to the case between Mr. Eliot, in behalf of the Indians of Oguonikongquamesit, and Sudbury men: the Courte finding that the Indians had a graunt of a township in the place before

* See 1 Hist. Col. X. 134. † 1 Hist. Col. V. 263. ‡ 1 Hist. Col. IX. 198.

§ I have given the name as it is uniformly written in the earliest records of Marlborough. Hutchinson, quoting from Eliot, who visited the place in 1670, writes it Ogguonikongquamesut; Gookin, who wrote in 1674, Okommakamesit. The word has since been corrupted into Agoganggomisset. This name, it should be considered, was at first appropriated to the Indian Plantation, while the English Plantation, before its incorporation in 1660, was called Whipsuppenicke. Both plantations were, however, in 1674, called by the same name by Daniel Gookin.

the English, the Courte determines and orders, that Mr. Edward Jackson, Mr. Tho. Danforth, Mr. Ephraim Child and Capt. Lusher,* or any three of them, as a committee, shall with the first convenient opportunity, if it may be before winter, lay out a township in the said place, of 6000 acres, to the Indians in which, at least, shall bee three or four hundred acres of meadow; and in case there be enough left for a convenient township for the Sudbury men, to lay it out to them; the grant of Mr. Alcock's (842 acres granted in 1655) confirmed by the last Court out of both excepted and reserved, and the Indians to have the Hill on which they are, and the rest of the land to be laid out adjoining to it as may be convenient to both plantations."†

The Hill mentioned in this order, had been improved for many years by the Indians, probably long before the arrival of the English, as a planting field. It was afterwards, in 1677, as appears from the following instrument, conveyed to Daniel Gookin, Esq.

"Know all men by these presents that we old Nequaio, Robin called old Robin, Benjamin Wuttanamit, James called Great James, John Nasquamit, Sarah the widow of Peter Nasquament, in behalf of her child Moses David, next heir to my father and to my uncle Josiah Harding, deceased, without issue, Assoask the widow of Josiah Nowell, in behalf of my children, Sarah Conomog, sole executrix to my late husband, Conomog, Elizabeth, the only daughter and heir of Solomon, deceased," [Solomon had been the teacher of the Indians of Marlborough,] "James Spene, in behalf of my wife, being all of us, true proprietors, possessors and improvers of the Indian lands called Whipsufferage, alias Okonkonomesit, adjoining to Marlborough in the colony of Massachusetts in New England for divers considerations us thereunto moving, especially the love and duty we owe to our honored magistrate, Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, Esq. who hath been a ruler to us above 20 years, do hereby freely and absolutely give, grant and confirm, unto him the said Daniel Gookin, Esq. and his heirs forever, one parcel of land heretofore broken up, and being planted by us and our predecessors, called by the name of Okonkonomesit Hill, situate, lying and being on the south side of our township and plantation, near Marlborough, containing about one hundred acres, more or less, (also ten acres in Fort Meadow, and ten in Long Meadow,) with free

* These three, Danforth, Child, and Lusher, were respectively deputies to the General Court from Cambridge, Watertown, and Dedham, in 1657.

† Records of the General Court for the year 1658–9.

liberty of commonage for wood, timber, feeding of his cattle, upon any common land, within our township or plantation."

"Second day of May, 1677.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

John Eliot,	Waban X his mark,
Noah Wiswell,	Piamboo X his mark,
Joshua Woods,	Joseph Wheeler.

Acknowledged before me,

THOMAS DANFORTH, *Assistant.*

Entered and recorded at the Registry at Cambridge.*"

It is thus described by Gookin in 1674. "In this Indian Plantation there is a piece of fertile land, containing above 150 acres, upon which the Indians have, not long since, lived, and planted several apple trees thereupon, which bear abundance of fruit; but now the Indians are removed from it about a mile. This tract of land doth so embosom itself into the English town, that it is encompassed about with it, except one way; and upon the edge of this land the English have placed their Meeting House." It was a favorite design of the benevolent Gookin, which he proposed in his Historical Collections, "as an expedient for civilizing the Indians, and propagating the Gospel among them," to have this tract of land, which, with certain meadows and woodland, he says, "is well worth £200 in money, set apart for an Indian free school; and there to build a convenient house for a school master and his family, and under the same roof may be a room for a school." This, with the necessary out buildings, he computes will not cost more than £200 in money; and the use of the land, he thinks, will be an adequate compensation for the services of the school master.

"Moreover, it is very probable," he adds, "that the English people of Marlborough will gladly and readily send their children to the same school, and pay the school master for them, which will better his maintenance; for they have no school in that place at the present."

We learn further from this account that the number of families in Marlborough, at this period, did not amount to fifty, every village containing that number being required by the laws to provide a school "to teach the English tongue, and to write." "These

* May 18, 1682. Waban, Piamboo, Great James, Thomas Tray, and John Wincols, proprietors of the Indian Plantation of Whipsufferadge, granted to Samuel Gookin, of Cambridge, liberty to erect a Saw Mill upon any brook or run of water within the said Plantation, with land not exceeding three acres, use of timber, &c. for 30 years.

people of Marlborough," says he, somewhat indignantly, "wanting a few of fifty families, do take that low advantage to ease their purses of this common charge."

What reception this proposal met with, we are not informed. It was most certainly an expedient that promised the happiest consequences, and worthy of the liberal and philanthropic mind of its author. How close is the resemblance between this plan, conceived more than one hundred and fifty years since, and that of the Indian schools recently established at Brainerd, Eliot, Mayhew, and other places in the United States?*

The people of Marlborough, notwithstanding the severity of Gookin's censure, have not been behind other towns in New England in their attention to schools. Owing to the troubles which ensued, soon after the date of Gookin's Historical Collections, they felt themselves unable to meet the expense of a public school for several following years. At length, however, in 1698, Benjamin Franklin† was employed as a school master in Marlborough, from the first of November, 1696, to the last of March, 1697, at eight shillings per week; "he engaging carefully to teach all such youth as com or are sent to him, to read English once a day, att least, or more, if need require; also to learn to write and cast accounts." The school was kept in Isaac Wood's house, which was then unoccupied.

* 1 Hist. Col. I. p. 220.

† This person was probably an uncle of Doctor Benjamin Franklin. In the first volume of Franklin's Works, edited by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, page 6, is the following account of the person referred to above. "My grandfather had four sons, who grew up, viz: Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josiah. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship in London. He was an ingenious man. I remember, when I was a boy, he came to my father's, in Boston, and resided in the house with us for several years. There was always a particular affection between my father and him, and I was his godson. He lived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of manuscript of his own poetry, consisting of fugitive pieces addressed to his friends. He had invented a short hand of his own, which he taught me, but not having practiced it, I have now forgotten it. He was very pious, and an assiduous attendant at the sermons of the best preachers, which he reduced to writing according to his method, and had thus collected several volumes of them. He was also a good deal of a politician; too much so, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my possession, in London, a collection he made of all the principal political pamphlets relating to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting, as appears, by their numbering; but there still remains eight volumes in folio, and twenty in quarto and octavo. A dealer in old books had met with them, and knowing me by name, having bought books of him, he brought them to me. It would appear that my uncle must have left them here, when he went to America, which was about fifty years ago. I found several of his notes in the margins. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, is still living in Boston."

Jan. 10, 1698–9. The town voted to build a school house. After this, Mr. Jonathan Johnson was employed as a school master for many years in succession.

The Indian Plantation was laid out agreeably to the following report of the Commissioners appointed as aforesaid.

"WHIPSUPPENICKE THE 19th OF JUNE, 1659.

"The Committee appointed by the Gen. Court to lay out a Plantation for the Indians of 6000 acres at the above named place, having given Mr. Eliot* a meeting and duly weighed all his exceptions in the behalf of the Indians; first, what hath beene formerly acted and returned to the Gen. Court, do judge meete in way of complyance, that the bounds of the Indian Plantation bee enlarged unto the most westerly part of the fence, that now standeth on the west side of the Hill or planting field called Ockoocangansett, and from thence to bee extended on a direct north line untill they have their full quantity of 6000 acres: the bounds of their Plantation in all other respects, wee judge meete that they stand as in the form returned; and that their full complement of meadow by Court Grant, may stand and bee exactly measured out by an artist within the limits of the aforesaid lines, when the Indians, or any in their behalf, are willing to be at the charges thereof: provided alwaies that the Indians may have noe power to make sale thereof, of all or any part of their abovesaid lands, otherwise than by the consent of the Hon^{d} Gen^{l} Court; or when any shall be made or happen, the Plantation of English there seated may have the first tender of it from the Court; which caution wee the rather insert, because not only a considerable part of the nearest and best planting land is beereby taken away from the English (as we are informed) but the nearest and best part of their meadow, by estimation about an hundred acres in one place, that this north line doth take away, which tendeth much to the detrimenting of the English Plantation, especially if the lands should bee impropriated to any other use than the Indians proposed, that is to say, for an Indian Plantation, or for the accommodating their Plantation, they should bee deprived thereof."

Signed by

ELEAZER LUSHER,
EDWARD JACKSON,
EPHRAIM CHILD,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
} *Commissioners.*

* The celebrated John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians.

The account given of this Plantation by Capt. afterwards, Maj. Gen. Gookin, of Cambridge, who visited it in 1674, more than one hundred and fifty years since, will be interesting to those who have not already seen it.

"Okommakamesit, alias Marlborough, is situated about twelve miles north northeast from Hassanamesitt, (Grafton) about thirty miles from Boston westerly.

"This village contains about ten families, and consequently about fifty souls. The quantity of land appertaining to it is six thousand acres. It is much of it good land, and yieldeth plenty of corn, being well husbanded. It is sufficiently stored with meadow, and is well wooded and watered. It hath several good orchards upon it, planted by the Indians: and is in itself a very good plantation. This town doth join so near to the English of Marlborough, that it (we might apply to it what) was spoken of David in type and our Lord Jesus Christ, the antitype, "Under his shadow ye shall rejoice:" but the Indians here do not much rejoice under the Englishmen's shadow; who do so overtop them in their number of people, stocks of cattle, &c. that the Indians do not greatly flourish, or delight in their station at present.

"Their ruler here was Onomog, who is lately deceased, about two months since; which is a great blow to that place. He was a pious and discreet man, and the very soul as it were of that place. Their teacher's name is **** Here they observe the same decorum for religion and civil order, as is done in other towns. They have a constable and other officers, as the rest have. The Lord sanctify the present affliction they are under by reason of their bereavements; and raise up others, and give them grace to promote religion and good order among them."

From this account, which is given by an eye witness, it is pretty evident that a spirit of jealousy and envy against their more prosperous neighbors of the English Plantation, was even then rankling in their hearts: and we are not much surprised to learn that, in the calamitous war which broke out in the following year between the English and Indians, known by the name of King Philip's war, some of these half civilized sons of the forest were found among the enemy, at the place of their general rendezvous, in the western part of Worcester County, a few days previous to their desolating march

*Hutchinson says his name was Solomon, judged to be a serious and sound Christian. p. 167.

through the country, in which Lancaster, and many other towns, experienced the horrors of savage warfare.*

*James Quanipaug, who was sent out with another Indian by the name of Job to reconnoitre the enemy, then in the Western part of this County, in the beginning of 1676, passed through Hassanamesit (Grafton) thence to Manexit, (a part of Woodstock) where he was taken by seven Indians and carried to Menimesseg, (New Braintree) where he found many of the enemy, and among them "the Marlborough Indians who pretended that they had been fetched away by the other Indians." Some of them professed to be willing to return. Philip is said at this time to have been about half a day's journey on the other side of Fort Orania, (Albany) and the Hadley Indians on this side. They were then preparing for that memorable expedition, in which the towns of Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, were destroyed.

The letter of James Quanipaug bears date 24th: 11 mo: 1675. (Jan. 24, 1676.) It was only 16 days after this, viz. Feb. 10th O. S. that they made a descent upon Lancaster, with 1500 warriors, and butchered or carried into captivity nearly all the inhabitants of that flourishing village.

Whether the Marlborough Indians joined in this expedition, or left the enemy and returned to their homes, I have not been able after diligent enquiry to ascertain. The little that I have been able to collect, though corroborated by circumstantial evidence, rests mainly on tradition.

Though it appears from the testimony of James Quanipaug that the Marlborough Indians were with Philip's men at Menimesseg, it is by no means certain that all who belonged to the Plantation had gone over to the enemy. Tradition says, that those who remained at home were suspected of treachery, and that representations to that effect were made to the governor, (Leverett) who dispatched a company of soldiers under the command of Capt. Mosely, to convey them to Boston. They reached Marlborough, it is said, in the night; and early in the morning, before the Indians had any suspicion of their design, surrounded the fort to which they were accustomed to repair at night, siezed on their arms, and obliged them to surrender. They attempted no resistance, and it is by no means certain that they entertained any hostile designs against the English. They were, however, taken into the custody of the soldiers; and, having their hands fastened behind their backs, and then being connected together by means of a cart rope, they were in this manner driven down to Boston, whence it is probable, that they were conveyed, in company with the Indians of Natick and other places, to one of the islands in the harbor, and kept in durance till the close of the war.

This tradition is corroborated by the following circumstances.

In the account of Daniel Gookin, in 1 Hist. Col. 1, 228, it is said that "some instances of perfidy in Indians, who had professed themselves friendly, excited suspicions against all their tribes. The General Court of Massachusetts passed several severe laws against them; and the Indians of Natick and other places, who had subjected themselves to the English government, were hurried down to Long Island (Hutchinson says Deer Island,) in the harbor of Boston, where they remained all winter, and endured inexpressible hardships." We learn further from Hutchinson, that the Indians of Punkapog alone (now Stoughton) were exempted from this severity of treatment. The ground of the harsh measures adopted in reference to the Indians in the neighborhood of Boston, was, the perfidious conduct of the Springfield Indians, in assisting in the destruction of Westfield, Hadley, and other places, in October 1675. "This instance of perfidy," says Hutchinson, "seems to have increased the jealousies and suspicions, which had before begun of the Indians round Boston, viz. Punkapog, Natick, &c."

At the session, in October, the General Court ordered "that no person shall entertain, own, or countenance any Indian under the penalty of being a betrayer of this government."

"That a guard be set at the entrance of the town of Boston, and that no

This war, if calamitous to the English, proved fatal to nearly all the Indian Plantations in New England. Among the rest the

Indian be suffered to enter upon any pretence without a guard of two musketeers, and not to lodge in town."

"That any person may apprehend an Indian, finding him in town, or approaching the town, and that none be suffered to come in by water."

To this we may add, that Capt. Mosely's character was such as to render it highly probable that he performed the part which tradition has assigned to him. Hutchinson says, "he had been an old privateerer at Jamaica, probably of such as were called Buccaniers." He commanded a company of 110 volunteers, in the war with King Philip, and was one of the most resolute and courageous captains of his day. It was he who, on Sept. 1, 1675, went out to the rescue of Capt. Lathrop, who with only 80 men was attacked by a body of 7 or 8 hundred Indians at Deerfield, when all Capt. L's company, with the exception of seven or eight, were cut off. He also led the van in the terrible assault made upon the Indians, Dec. 19, in the Narragansett country, in which six English captains were killed, and nearly 200 men killed and wounded.

I hope I shall be pardoned for adding to this already extended note, the following particulars respecting the remains of the Marlborough Indians.

After the close of the war, some of the Indians of Marlborough appear to have returned to their former place of abode. But their plantation was broken up, and they were forced to find shelter and subsistence as they were able.

A considerable number of the Indians who remained in, or returned to, Marlborough, after the war, lived in the westerly part of the town, on the farm of Thomas Brigham, one of the oldest proprietors, the common ancestor of all the Brighams in this town, as well as of many of that name in Marlborough, Westborough, and other places. The late Judge Brigham, of Westborough, and Rev. Benjamin Brigham, of Fitzwilliam, were great-grandsons of Thomas.

Among those who returned was David, alias David Munnanaw, who had joined Philip, and as he afterwards confessed, assisted in the destruction of Medfield. This treacherous Indian had, it is said, a slit thumb, which circumstance led to his conviction. He had been absent from Marlborough several months, but after his return would give no account of himself whither he had been, or how he had employed himself in the mean time. At length, however, an inhabitant of Medfield, one whom Munnanaw had wounded, being at Marlborough, immediately recognized him by the mark on his thumb, and charged him with his treachery. At first he denied the charge; but, finding that the proof against him could not be evaded, he at length owned that he had been led away by Philip, and had assisted in the burning of Medfield.

He was, however, suffered to live without molestation. His wigwam stood on the borders of the beautiful lake, near the public house kept by Mr. Silas Gates, where he lived with his family many years, till the infirmities of old age came upon him. He was accustomed to repair to the neighboring orchards for the purpose of obtaining fruit. There was one tree of the fruit of which he was particularly fond, and which was accordingly his favorite place of resort. In this spot the old warrior expired. Old David Munnanaw died a little more than 80 years since, having lived, as was supposed, nearly or quite a century of years. Capt. Timothy Brigham, now in his 91st year, well recollects having seen him, when he was a child of about 9 or 10 years old, at his grandfather's, Jonathan Brigham's, of Marlborough. According to this account, Munnanaw must have been a young man, 25 or 30 years of age, at the time of Philip's war. Capt. B. represents him as bearing the marks of extreme old age, his flesh wasted, and his skin shrivelled. He understood that he had the reputation of having been treacherous to the English. Abimilech David, supposed to be a son of the former, was a tall, stout, well pre-

Plantation of Marlborough, was completely broken up and soon passed into other hands. On the 15th of July 1684, a few weeks subsequent to the date of the Indian deed of the English Plantation, the Indian lands were formally transferred by deed to John Brigham of Marlborough and his fellow purchasers;* and in October, 1686, the aforesaid John Brigham who was a noted surveyor and speculator in lands, was appointed "to lay out 30 acres to each of the proprietors in some of the best of the land lying as convenient as may be to the town of Marlborough."

June the 5th 1700, the inhabitants of Marlborough petitioned the General Court, that the proprietors of the Indian lands might be annexed to the said town, which petition was granted, and Marlborough accordingly received an accession of 6000 acres, a large proportion of which is good land.

After the close of Philip's war the inhabitants of Marlborough do not appear to have been seriously molested by the Indians till after the commencement of the eighteenth century.

In the mean time the settlement had extended itself towards the borders of the town, so that some time previous to the close of the

portioned Indian, is well remembered by many persons now living. Abimilech had several daughters, among whom were, Sue, Deborah, Esther, Patience, Nabby, and Betty. They lived in a wretched hovel or wigwam, under the large oak now standing, near the dwelling house of Mr. Warren Brigham. They had become dissolute in their habits, and were exceedingly troublesome to their neighbors; and they are remembered with very little respect or affection.

The Indian burying ground, where the last remnants of the race were interred, is situated a few rods from the south road, leading from Marlborough to Northborough, near the residence of Widow Holyoke, in a field belonging to the old Brigham farm. It has been enjoined on the family in each succeeding generation, not to trespass on this repository of the dead; an injunction which has hitherto been duly regarded. The burying ground is about five rods in length, and somewhat more than one rod in breadth, covered with wild grass and loose stones. A few years since, as I have been informed, as many as twenty or thirty graves were plainly distinguishable, though they have now almost wholly disappeared. Two of the graves were situated without the bounds of the rest, and in a direction perpendicular to them; the former being from north to south, the latter from east to west. Many aged persons can remember when the last degraded remnants of the race, once inhabiting the soil we occupy, enclosed in rude coffins of rough boards, hastily put together, and without any religious ceremony, were conveyed to this repository of the dead.

*This deed appears to have been obtained by unfair means, as in the following September, a committee appointed by the General Court to examine into the grounds of complaint made by the Indians against the English of Marlborough, reported in favor of the Indians, and "the Court ordered and declared that the Indian deed of sale to the inhabitants of Marlborough of 5600 acres of land (the whole of the Indian Plantation with the exception of the Indian Planting field) bearing date July 15, 1684, is illegal and consequently null and void."

seventeenth century, some of the lands now included within the limits of Westborough and Northborough, then called Chauncey, or Chauncey Village, had been laid out for farms.

Indeed so early as 1660, the very year that Marlborough was incorporated, several tracts of meadow, lying within the limits of this town, were surveyed and the names given them which they now bear.* And, in 1662, three large meadows, Cold Harbour Meadow, Middle Meadow, and Chauncey Meadow, the first of which and part of the second, lie within the limits of this town, were ordered to be surveyed, and each to be laid out in thirty four lots, which was probably the number of proprietors at that time.†

The first grants of land lying within the limits of what is now Westborough and Northborough, with the exception of the meadows above named, bear the date of 1672. From this time, and before the close of the century, many of the proprietors of Marlborough had taken up their 2nd, 3d, and 4th divisions in the westerly part of the town, several of them west of the river Assabeth.

It is asserted by Rev. Mr. Whitney, in his history of this town, that there were settlers in this part of Marlborough before there were any in what is now Westborough. The first settler according to tradition was John Brigham, from Sudbury, a noted land survey-

* Three Corner Meadow, Stirrup Meadow, Crane Meadow, Cedar Meadow, &c.

† The origin of these names according to tradition was as follows:—Cold Harbour Meadow, in the western part of this town, so called from the circumstance of a traveller, having lost his way, being compelled to remain through a cold winter's night in a stack of hay in that place, and on the following morning, having made his way through the wilderness to the habitations of man, and being asked where he lodged during the night, replied, "In Cold Harbour." Middle Meadow, on the borders of Westborough and Northborough, so called probably from its situation in reference to the two others.

Chauncey Meadow, in Westborough, so called probably for the same reason that the western part of Marlborough was called Chauncey. The origin of the name was known only by tradition in the Rev. Mr. Parkman's day, who was ordained in Westborough, Oct. 28th, 1724, and who gave the following account. "It is said that in early times one Mr. Chauncey was lost in one of the swamps here, and from hence this part of the town had its name." I find from the records of the General Court for the year 1665, that Mr. Chauncey had taken up lands within the limits of Marlborough, and that the proprietors of Marlborough were ordered to remunerate him for his expences incurred in laying out his farm, "and he hath liberty to lay out the same in any land not formerly granted by this Court." Quere.—May not this have been President Chauncey, of Harvard College, to whom, an account of the smallness of his salary, repeated grants of land were made about this time by the General Court? Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, the great-grandson of President Chauncey, says that the latter was the first, and the common ancestor of all of that name in this place. If so, the Mr. C. above mentioned must have been President Chauncey or one of his sons.

er, undoubtedly the same person who has been mentioned in our account of the Indian Plantation. It appears from the Proprietors' records that a grant of land was made to John Brigham, in 1672, "in the place formerly desired, that is, on Licor Meadow plain." This land was probably part of the Coram Farm, so called, the principal part of which lay on the northern side of the old Marlborough line,* and now constitutes, in whole, or in part, the farms of Nahum Fay, Esq. John Green, Asa Fay, Lewis Fay, and Stephen Williams, Esq. The lands of Mr. Brigham extended to the saw mill of Mr. Lowell Holbrook, near which he erected a small cabin, in which he lived several years, remote from any human habitation, till, at length, the fear of the Savages compelled him to retreat to a place of greater security; and, it is said, that only a few days after his removal, a party of Indians came to the place and burned his house to the ground.

The first Saw Mill erected in this town was built by the above named Brigham, and stood on the same spot, which is now occupied for the same purpose.†

In the same year (1672) a grant of land was made to Samuel Goodenow, grandfather of the late Asa Goodenow, and to Thomas Brigham, the person mentioned in the last note, "by Double Pond Meadow, on both sides said meadow."‡ The lands taken up on the account of the above named Samuel Goodenow, constituted three

* The old Marlborough line, was a straight line of seven miles in extent, running through the northwest angle of this town, and cutting off more than 2000 acres, which constitute what is called the new grants, of which an account will be given hereafter.

† John Brigham was one of three brothers (John, Samuel, and Thomas) who came from Sudbury to Marlborough sometime previous to 1672. Their father was from England, married a Mercie Hurd also from England, settled in Sudbury, where he died probably in middle life, as his widow had buried a second husband by the name of Hunt, before her sons removed to Marlborough. Samuel Brigham, was the grand-father of the late Dr. Samuel Brigham, of Marlborough: Thomas was an ancestor of the late Judge Brigham, of Westborough; and John, who was sometimes called Doctor Brigham, was the father of the Mrs. Mary Fay, wife of Gershom Fay, of whose remarkable escape from the Indians we shall presently give an account. John Brigham was one of the selectmen of Marlborough in 1679, and in the winter of 1689 90, representative to the Convention then sitting in Boston. The Coram Farm, was granted him, it is said, by the General Court to compensate him for services as a surveyor of lands. Mr. Brigham lived to be quite aged, and used to come to reside with his daughter Mrs. Fay, in this town.

‡ Quere. May not this meadow be the one which lies between Great and Little Chauncey ponds, which, as they are connected with each other by a water communication, might have been called at first Double Pond? David Brigham, son of Thomas, lived on the borders of Great Chauncey, on the farm now in the possession of Lovett Peters, Esq.

of the oldest settlements in this town, on one of which was the principal garrison house, used for many years as a defence against the Indians, and which stood on the farm of Mr. Gill Bartlett, then owned by Samuel Goodenow, Jr. The other two, were in the vicinity of this, and constitute in whole, or in part, the farms of Deac. Jonas Bartlett and Mr. Stephen How.

In the same year, a grant of land was made to John Rediet, "west of Assabeth River, northwest side of the Chauncey Great Pond, bounded on the east by a Spruce Swamp:" another tract on "the Nepmuck road, that formerly led toward Coneticoat."* The land of John Rediet, who was one of the first proprietors and greatest land holders of Marlborough, came into the possession of Nathaniel Oaks, who married his daughter, and who lived on the farm owned in succession by Rev. John Martyn and Rev. Peter Whitney, and now in the possession of Mr. Jacob Pierce.† Capt. James Eager was another of the first settlers of this town. He lived near the centre of the town on the farm now in the possession of Mr. John Fisk. His house was once used for a garrison, and was for many years occupied as a tavern, being the first that was opened in the place.‡

* "The Nepmuck Road, that formerly led toward Coneticoat," was the old Connecticut road that passed through the southeast part of this town, over Rock Hill, east of Great and Little Chauncey ponds, into Westborough and thence through Hassanamesit or Grafton. 1. Hist. Col. 1. p. 185 and 192.

† Nathaniel Oaks came from England, married Mehitabel, daughter of John Rediet, who died Nov. 25th, 1702, without children. His second wife Mary, was a daughter of Adam Holloway, by whom he had the following children, viz.—Nathaniel, who lived at Bolton. William, burned to death at Shrewsbury in the house of Capt. Keyes. Hannah, married to Gersham Fay, Jr. died March 8, 1806, wanting but a few months of a century. She was the mother of the late Thaddeus Fay, who died, July 22, 1822, aged 91 years. Mary, married to Daniel Maynard, Marlborough. Ann, married to David Maynard, Westborough. John, built the house near Col. Crawford's, owned by Joel Gasset. Jonathan, removed to Harvard. George, lived near the house of Mr. Luther Hawse, and built a saw mill on the river Assabeth.

‡ Capt. James Eager was a native of Marlborough, born in 1685, died 1755, aged 70. He was one of the leading men of the place at the time that Northborough became a separate precinct. It is said that his house was the first that was built on the new Connecticut road, between the house of Samuel Goodenow and the town of Worcester. It is but little more than a hundred years, since there was not a human habitation on the road from Marlborough to Brookfield, west of the Goodenow farm, in the eastern part of this town, with the exception of a few log houses in that part of Worcester called Boggachoag. James Eager, Jr. a son of the above, was married to Mariam, daughter of Joseph Wheeler. Their daughter Zilpeh, was married to Michael, son of Rev. John Martyn through whom there are several persons in this town who trace their descent from the first minister of the place.

Several other persons settled in what is now Marlborough, in the early part of the last century.*

Soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century, the English settlers of Marlborough were again exposed to the horrors of Indian warfare. It will be difficult for us, who are permitted to dwell in security under the shelter of the domestic roof, to form an adequate idea of the perilous condition of our forefathers, at this gloomy period. "We have, indeed, heard within our ears, and our fathers have told" us the story of their dangers and sufferings "in the waste and howling wilderness." But how difficult to enter into the feelings of men, who were in constant peril for their lives; who, like the children of Israel in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, repaired to their work with weapons in their hands, and who were liable to be waked from their midnight slumbers by the savage yells of a pitiless foe? In many instances were they

*Simeon Howard was the father of Cornet Simeon Howard, and of Jonathan Howard, whose son, Gideon Howard, removed to Worthington, in this state, where his descendants, it is supposed, still live.

Simon Howard, Senior, from Concord, was another of the first settlers. His house stood near the hearse house, on the land of Mr. Asa Fay.

It is not known whether the Simeon Howard mentioned above, was related to Simeon Howard, D. D. late pastor of the west church in Boston.

Adam Holloway, from Concord, (died in 1733, aged 80,) and his son Lieut. Wm. Holloway, (died Jan. 6, 1760, aged 71,) settled on the farm now owned by Stephen Williams, Esq.

Lieut. Wm. Holloway, married Mary, (died March 9, 1788, aged 94,) a daughter of Simeon Howard, Senior, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. The sons died young. Of the daughters, Mary, married Jonathan Bartlett, died Dec. 22, 1821, aged 95.—Hannah, married Capt. James Stone, of Western.—Betty, married Daniel Wheeler, of Hardwick.—Jemima, married John Taylor, who died at St. Albans, Vt.

John Taylor, was the father of Col. Holloway Taylor now of St. Albans and of John Taylor, Esq. an Attorney at law, at Northampton.

Gershom Fay, Senior, was one of the first settlers of this town. He was the son of John Fay, of Marlborough, married Mary, a daughter of John Brigham, died in 1720. He lived at first in the easterly part of the town, afterwards, built a house on the *Coram Farm*, near the bend of the road, between the dwelling house of Capt. Hastings, and that of Stephen Williams, Esq. His children were Gershom, Mary, Susanna, Sarah, Silas, Timothy, and Paul.

Thomas Ward, from Marlborough, was the first settler on the farm now in the possession of Asaph Rice; and Deac. Isaac Tomblin on the farm of the late Deac. Isaac Davis.

Hezekiah Tomblin, lived first on Tomblin Hill, so called; Ephraim Beeman, on the farm of Samuel Dalrymple.

Joseph Wheeler, (died in 1747, aged 56,) lived on the southern declivity of Ball's Hill, so called.

Ephraim Allen, from Roxbury, purchased of an Eleazer How, a few acres of land, with a grist mill erected thereon, the site of the present mill, and Cotton Factory. This was the first, and for many years the only grist mill, in this town.

compelled to desert their farms, leaving their lands untilled, while old and young, the strong and the feeble, flocked to the frail fortifications, denominated garrisons, as their only means of safety.

These were usually nothing more than common dwelling houses, surrounded by palisades, and furnished with a supply of fire arms and ammunition. In the year 1711, there were no fewer than twenty six garrison houses within the limits of Marlborough, to each of which were assigned, on an average, five or six families, the whole number of families being one hundred and thirty seven.*

*"MARLBOROUGH, DECEMBER 11, 1711.

"These several persons are allowed by the Captain Generall.

"The persons assigned to each particular Garrison are as followeth: Ordered, by us the Subscribers, by the direction of an act of the Generall Court, entitled an act for the better security and defence of the fronteers.

Capt. How's GARISON.
Samuel Stevens
James How
Jonathan How
Samuel Stow, Senior
Thomas Stow
Jonathan Morse.

Mr. BRECK'S* GARISON.

Capt. KERLY'S GARISON.
Nathaniel Joslin
Joseph Maynard
Deacon Woods
Nathaniel Johnson
Thomas Amsden
Simon Gates
Joseph Johnson.

Capt. BRIGHAM'S GARISON.
Peter Plimpton
Benjamin Mixer

ISAAC AMSDEN'S GARISON.
Thomas Newton
Sergeant Mainard
James Woods
Adam Martin
Is. Tempels
Deacon Newton
John Amsden.

Is. How's GARISON.
Moses Newton
David Fay
John Newton
Widdow Johnson
Moses Newton, Jr.
James Kady.

Lieut. WILLIAMS' GARISON.
Thomas Beman
Peter Bent
Richard Barns
Edward Barns

ENSIGN How's GARISON.
Ensign Bouker
Joseph Wait
David Church
Benjamin Rice
Peter Rice
Jacob Rice
Joseph Rice.

SAMUEL MORRIL'S GARISON.
Sergeant Barret
John Barns
Benjamin Baylis
Joseph Ward
Joshua Rice
Thomas Martin
Samuel Bush.

THOMAS BRIGHAM'S GARISON.
Jonathan Brigham
Oliver Ward
Increas Ward.

JOHN How's GARISON.
Zac. Eager
Abraham Eager
Daniel Johnson
Samuel Wheelock
Obadiah Ward
Thomas Axtel.

SAMUEL GOODENOW'S GARISON.
Nathaniel Oakes

* This undoubtedly was the Rev. Robert Breck, the second Minister of Marlborough.

For several of the preceding years, the inhabitants, especially such as lived in the borders of the town, had been kept in a state of constant anxiety and alarm, in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Indians.

August 8th, 1704, a party of Indians, eight or ten in number, rushed suddenly from the woods, and fell upon a number

Jonathan Farbush
Gershom Fay.

Lieut. How's Garison.
Thomas Ward
Edward Rice

Nathan Brigham's Garison.
Joseph Stratten
Henry Bartlett
Ellicksander Steward.

Samuel Ward Senior's Garison.
William Ward
Widdow Hannah Ward
Jonathan Johnson, Senior
Caleb Rice.

John Mathew's Garison.
William Johnson
Samuel Ward.

Daniel Rice's Garison.
Widdow Sarah Tayler
Suply Weeks
Elyazer Taylyer.

Samuel Forbush's Garison.
James Bradish
Thomas Forbush
James Glesson.

Edmond Rice's Garison.
David Brigham
Isaac Tomblin
David Maynard.

Thomas Rice's Garison.
John Pratt
Charles Rice.

Thomas Hapgood's Garison.
John Ferbush

John Wheeler
Josiah How
B—— Curly (Kerly) Senior
James Curly.

Simon Mainard's Garison.
Adam Holloway
Benjamin Whitney
Joseph Newton
John Keyes
Abrell Bush.

Mill Garison.
Thomas Barret
John Banister.

John Newton Jr's Garison.
Eliazer Bellows
John Bellows
James Eager
James Newton
Benjamin Newton
Ephraim Newton
John Woods
Abraham Newton.

Jonathan Newton's Garison.
Is. Woods
Thomas Witherby
Is. Amsden
Moses Lenard
Roger Bruce.

Joseph Morse's Garison.
Thomas Biglo
Samuel Biglo
Samuel Mors
John Biglo
John Sherman
Daniel Harington.

THOMAS HOW
SAMUEL BRIGHAM
ISAAC AMSDEN
ELEAZER HOW
DANIEL HOW
JOHN BOUKER
JONATHAN JOHNSON
NATHANIEL JOSLIN
PETER RICE
JOHN MAINARD
JOHN BARRETT
} Committee."

of the inhabitants of what is now Westborough, while at work in the field; killed Nahor, a son of Mr. Edmund Rice, on the spot, seized and carried into captivity two other sons, Silas and Timothy; also Ashur and Adonijah, two sons of Mr. Thomas Rice. Ashur was redeemed by his father, and returned in about four years. He afterwards settled in Spencer. Adonijah remained in Canada, cultivated a farm in the vicinity of Montreal. His Indian name was Asaunaugooton. The other two lived among the Indians, married Indian wives, acquired their habits, and lost all knowledge of the English language. The puritanical names of Silas and Timothy were changed into the heathenish, but not unmusical ones of Tookanowras and Oughtsorongoughton. The latter is said to have been the third of the six chiefs of the Cagnawaga tribe, and the one who made the speech to Gen. Gage, in behalf of his tribe, soon after the reduction of Montreal. This chief, in the year 1740, thirty six years after his captivity, visited his relations in Westborough, and retained, it is said, a distinct recollection of the circumstances of his captivity, and of several aged persons then living. Mr. Seth Rice, father of the late Deac. Seth Rice, and who died in 1796, aged 91, was a brother, and Thankful, wife of the late Mr. Josiah Rice, was a sister, of the above named Silas and Timothy.

In the preceding month, (July) two of the inhabitants of Marlborough, viz. Abraham How and Benjamin Hutchins, were slain by the Indians at Lancaster.

On the 15th of October, 1705, Mr. John Biglow, of Marlborough, being then at Lancaster, at the garrison house of Mr. Thomas Sawyer, was, with Mr. Sawyer and his son Elias, taken by the Indians, and conveyed to Canada. They obtained their release in the following manner: Both of them were ingenious mechanics, one, (Sawyer) a blacksmith, the other, (Biglow) a carpenter. While they were at Montreal, they proposed to the French Governor, who resided in that city, that, in case he would procure their ransom, they would erect for him a saw mill, there being none at that time in all Canada. The offer was readily accepted; they fulfilled their engagement, and, after some delays, were permitted to return to their friends, with whom they lived to a good old age. Mr. Biglow, in token of his gratitude for his remarkable deliverance from captivity, called his daughter, born soon after his return, "Freedom;" and a second, born some time afterwards, he called "Comfort," as expressive of the happiness and peace he then enjoyed, contrasted with the hardships and fears of a state of captivity.

Comfort was married to Joseph Brigham, the father of Mr. Jonah Brigham, of this town, who, when a child, often listened to the account given by his grandfather Biglow, of the circumstances of his captivity and escape.

In 1707, August 18th, the following tragical event occurred in what is now the easterly part of Northborough. There was at this time a garrison house standing on the south side of the road, near the brook, known by the name of Stirrup Brook, which crosses the great road between the farms of Messrs. Jonas and Gill Bartlett, then in the possession of Samuel Goodenow. As Mary Goodenow, daughter of Samuel, and Mrs. Mary Fay, wife of Gershom Fay, were gathering herbs in the adjoining meadow, a party of Indians, twenty four in number, all of whom are said to have been stout warriors, were seen issuing from the woods and making towards them. Mrs. Fay succeeded in effecting her escape. She was closely pursued by a party of the enemy; but before they came up, had time to enter the garrison, and to fasten the gate of the enclosure. There fortunately happened to be one man then within, the rest of the men belonging to the garrison being in the fields at work. Their savage invaders attempted in vain to break through the enclosure. These heroic defenders, by dint of great exertion, maintained the unequal conflict, till a party of friends, alarmed by the report of the muskets, came to their relief, when the enemy betook themselves to flight.*

The other unfortunate young woman, Miss Goodenow, being retarded in her flight by lameness, was seized by her merciless pursuers, dragged across the brook to the side of the hill, a little south of the road, where she was killed and scalped, and where her mangled body was afterwards found and buried, and where her grave is shown at this day.

On the following day, the enemy were pursued by a company of about thirty men, from Marlborough and Lancaster, and over-

* Mrs. Fay, it is said, discovered great presence of mind during this assault, being constantly employed in loading and reloading the muskets belonging to the garrison, and handing them to her companion, who by this means was able to keep up a constant fire upon the invaders. No wonder that she was brave, for she had much at stake. She was then the mother of two young children, one four, and the other two years old. Gershom, father of the late Thaddeus Fay, and Mary, afterwards married to George Smith. Her third, called Susanna, who was born on the 18th of the following November, was subject to a constant nervous trembling, caused, it is supposed, by the mother's fright, received at this time. At her father's death, Nov. 24, 1720, she was left to the care of her brother, the late Timothy Fay, with whom she lived till her decease.

taken in what is now Sterling, where a hard conflict ensued, in which nine of their number, and two of our men were slain. In one of their packs was found the scalp of the unfortunate Miss Goodenow, which was the first intimation that was obtained of her melancholy fate.

Nothing worthy of record is preserved of what took place between this period* and the incorporation of the westerly part of Marlborough, then called Chauncey Village, and including what is now Westborough and Northborough. The act of incorporation is dated November 19, 1717, O. S. or, in our present reckoning, November 30.

In the fall of 1718, the first meeting house was raised, which stood near the northern limits of Westborough, not far from the public house kept by Mr. Silas Wesson. It was not, however, till October 28, 1724, or nearly seven years after the town was incorporated, that a church was gathered, and the Rev. Mr. Parkman, the first minister of Westborough, was ordained.

It was at this house that our fathers, the first settlers of Northborough, worshipped for more than twenty years, some of them being accustomed to walk every Sabbath the distance of five or six miles.

At length, October 20, 1744, the town of Westborough, consisting at that time of one hundred and twenty five families, was divided into two precincts; the north part, to use the words of Rev. Mr. Parkman, "being indeed very small."† The number of families set off to the north precinct was only thirty eight; while eighty seven families remained attached to the old society. Nor was the separation effected without much opposition, and mutual recrimination, the unhappy effects of which lasted many years.

Having arrived at that period of our history, when Northborough became a separate precinct, we proceed to give some account of its boundaries, dimensions, face of the soil, &c.

* I find, from a record kept by Col. Williams, of Marlborough, that Jonathan Johnson was slain by the Indians, October 12, 1708, but at what place, and under what circumstances, I have not been able to ascertain.

† The act of the General Court, setting off the north part of Westborough as a separate precinct, provides, "that the Inhabitants of said north part should give security to Rev. Mr. Parkman, their present pastor, to give him £100, lawful money, settlement, and £50, like money, per annum, in case he should incline to settle with them, agreeably to what they now promise; or otherwise, £12, 10s. like money, if he chooses to continue in the south part." It is unnecessary to add, that Rev. Mr. Parkman chose to remain the minister of the old parish. He died Dec. 9, 1782, in the 80th year of his age, and the 59th of his ministry.

BOUNDARIES, &c.—A plan of the town was made in 1795, by Mr. Silas Keyes, surveyor, then an inhabitant of the place. According to this plan, Northborough contained 10096 acres, including ponds and roads. Since that date, that is, Feb. 15, 1806, the dividing line between this town and Berlin, was by mutual consent, altered so as to bring both towns into a better shape; and in June 20, 1807, the line between Northborough and Marlborough was altered, so as to include the farm of Deac. Jonas Bartlett, within the limits of this town. In its present state, the town contains about 10,150 acres.

The boundaries according to the plan made in 1795, are as follows* :—Beginning at the southwest corner, at a heap of stones on Shrewsbury line, it thence runs east, nineteen degrees north, four hundred and eighty nine rods, to a stake by the river Assabeth; thence, in a northeasterly direction, as the river runs, one hundred and seventy six rods, to the County road, near the dwelling house of Phineas Davis, Esq.; thence, by said river, one hundred and ninety four rods, to a stake and stones; thence east, twenty degrees north, eight hundred and sixty four rods, to a stake and stones on Southborough line. (The above are the boundaries between Northborough and Westborough.) From the last mentioned bounds, the line runs north, thirty two degrees west, one hundred and forty rods by Southborough, to a stake and stones at the corner of Marlborough. (The above are the boundaries between Northborough and Southborough.) From Marlborough corner the line ran, according to the plan of Mr. Keyes, north, thirty degrees forty five minutes west, one hundred and eighty seven rods, to a stake and stones; thence north, forty degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and ten rods, to do.; thence north, twenty two degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and forty eight rods, to do.; thence north, thirty two degrees west, forty rods, to a swamp white oak; thence north, twenty nine degrees west, seventy two rods, to a stake and stones; thence north, thirty degrees west, sixty four rods, to do. by the County road; thence north, thirty one degrees forty minutes west, seventy seven rods, to do.; thence north, twenty eight degrees fifteen minutes west, one hundred and twenty eight rods, to a walnut tree by the river; thence north, thirty three degrees thirty minutes west, sixty eight rods, to a large oak tree marked; thence north, twenty seven degrees west, forty seven

* For the alterations referred to above, see Massachusetts Special Laws, Vol. IV. p. 3 and 112.

rods, to a pine tree marked; thence north, thirty one degrees thirty minutes west, one hundred and twenty nine rods, to a stake and stones by Berlin line or corner. (The above were the former bounds between Northborough and Marlborough; for the alteration see note.) From Berlin corner, the line ran north, thirty degrees west, one hundred and forty eight rods, to a heap of stones; thence east, thirty two degrees north, ninety rods, to the Long Stone, so called; thence west, sixteen degrees north, eight hundred and ten rods, to a heap of stones on Boylston line. (These were the former bounds between Northborough and Berlin; for the alteration see note.) Thence south, sixteen degrees west, eight hundred and sixty eight rods, to a heap of stones at Shrewsbury corner. (This is the line between Northborough and Boylston.) Thence south, sixteen degrees west, one hundred and forty nine rods, to a heap of stones. (This is supposed to be on or near the old Marlborough line, which extended thence in one direction to the northwest corner of Marlborough.) Thence south, twenty four degrees east, one hundred and eighty two rods, to a great oak; thence south, twenty one degrees east, one hundred and fifty rods, to a heap of stones; thence south, one degree east, twenty rods to the County road; thence, in the same direction, three hundred and seventeen rods, to a red oak; thence south, twenty eight degrees thirty five minutes east, one hundred and ninety four rods, to where it began. (These are the bounds between Northborough and Shrewsbury.)

Besides what was originally a part of Marlborough, this town includes a large triangular tract, lying north of the old Marlborough line, (of which the Coram Farm and the Brown Farm made a part) and containing, as has been estimated, between two and three thousand acres. This tract, with several others now in the westerly part of Westborough, was surveyed in January and February, 1715–16, by Wm. Ward, and annexed to Chauncey Village by a grant of the General Court, before the latter was separated from Marlborough.

In March and April, 1721, this tract was again surveyed by James Keyes; and a committee, consisting of John Sherman, David Brigham, and Joseph Wheeler, was appointed to lay it out in forty five shares, according to the number of the proprietors, which shares were afterwards divided among them by lot.

Besides the above tract, the principal part of the farm of Deac.

Caleb Rice, of Marlborough,* which lay without the original boundaries of the town, with another tract nearly as large, adjoining the former, falls within the limits of Northborough, forming the southwest angle of the town.

Northborough is of an irregular form, its average length being about five miles, and its average breadth somewhat more than three miles.

SURFACE, SOIL, &c.—The principal part of the town consists of a valley, environed by the hills of Marlborough on the east, Berlin on the north, and Boylston and Shrewsbury on the west, and opening into Westborough on the south, which town is an extension of the same low grounds. The surface of this valley is, however, diversified by numerous hills, some of which are so considerable as to be distinguished by names. The northwest corner of the town, comprehending five or six good farms, and more than 1000 acres of land, forms part of the ridge of high land, running from Berlin, through Boylston and Shrewsbury, and is commonly called Ball's Hill.†

Liquor Hill is a beautiful eminence, rising with a gentle declivity from the great road, nearly opposite to the church, skirted with forest trees, while its summit and its northern and southern declivities are open to the view and form a rich and pleasing prospect. Edmund Hill, about a mile in the northerly direction from the church, and Cedar Hill, in the southeastern part of the town, are similar in form to Liquor Hill, but less open to observation.

Northborough is well supplied with streams of water. The principal stream is the river Assabeth, which, rising in Grafton, and crossing an angle of Westborough, flows diagonally in a northeastern direction, through this town, crossing the great road, about half a mile east of the church, and furnishing several valuable water privileges.

Cold Harbour Brook rises in Shrewsbury, crosses the southeast corner of Boylston, and enters this town. Having received a small

* Deac. Caleb Rice was the father of the late Josiah Rice, of this town, who died 1792, aged 92, and who came into possession of the farm abovementioned, and was one of the greatest landholders in the town. That farm alone contained above five hundred acres, besides which, he owned several hundred acres in other parts of the town.

† So called from two brothers, James and Nathan Ball, from Watertown, who settled there about the year 1720, and where some of their descendants still live. James, the father of the late Doct. Stephen Ball, and grandfather of the present Doct. Stephen Ball, Sen. died 1756, aged 62. Nathan, father of Nathan Ball, died 1768, aged 73.

tributary stream from Rocky Pond, in Boylston, and supplying water for a Grist and Saw Mill, it flows in a very circuitous route through a tract of rich intervales and extensive meadows, crossing the road at Cold Harbour bridge, a few rods south of the church, and having received another small stream from the west, on which a Saw Mill is erected, it falls into the Assabeth, a little below where the latter crosses the great road.

In the easterly part of the town, a small stream, called Stirrup Brook, issuing from Little Chauncey Pond, furnishes a supply of water for a Saw Mill, and is bordered by a rich intervale and meadows.

Another small stream, called Hop Brook, from the abundance of wild hops which formerly grew on its banks, rises in Shrewsbury, crosses the southwest angle of this town, furnishing water for two Saw Mills and one Grist Mill, and falls into the Assabeth, soon after that river enters the town. It appears, therefore, that all the waters of Northborough fall into the Assabeth, which conveys them to the Merrimack between Chelmsford and Tewksbury.

The two principal ponds in Northborough are the Little Chauncey, in the southeastern part of the town, containing sixty five acres, and Solomon's Pond, in the northeastern part, containing twenty six acres. Little Chauncey takes its name from Great Chauncey, in Westborough, with which it is connected by a small stream. It is a beautiful sheet of water, well stored with fish, its borders in part fringed with woods, while to the east, it opens towards cultivated fields. Solomon's Pond, so named from Solomon, an Indian, who was drowned in it, is not destitute of beauty, and is encompassed by a tract of excellent land.

The soil is in general rich and productive, the poorest being, as Whitney justly observes, that "which appears as we travel the great road." In the northern part of the town, the land is rocky and hard, though it produces good crops of hay and grain. In the middle and southern parts the land is more level, and if not more productive, is cultivated with much less labor and expense.

Roads, &c.—The principal road is the old Worcester Post road, which passes through the middle of the town, about forty rods south of the Meeting House. The distance to Boston from this town is 34 miles; to Worcester 10 miles. Four Stages, furnishing a daily Mail from the east and from the west, pass on this road every day, Sundays excepted.

The old County road from Framingham to Worcester, also leads

through the south part of the town; and the Worcester Turnpike crosses the southwest angle, passing one house only in Northborough. The roads from Lancaster to this place, one of which passes the Meeting House in Berlin, and that from Boylston, are much travelled. The distance to Lancaster is 10 miles; to Boylston 6; to Westborough 4½ miles.

The highways are kept in repair by an annual tax of from $500 to $800.

Mills, Manufactories, &c.—Northborough contains at present four Grist Mills, five Saw Mills, two Carding Machines, a manufactory for Hoes and Scythes; large and commodious works recently established by Capt. Thomas W. Lyon, for manufacturing Cotton Machinery; an extensive Tannery owned by Phinehas and Joseph Davis, Esquires, whose annual sales of leather amount to $20,000. There are also six Coopers, four Blacksmiths, one Saddle and Harness Maker, one Book Binder, three Wheelwrights, eight or ten Shoemakers, who, besides supplying the wants of the town, manufacture about 4000 pairs of shoes annually for a foreign market. The Cotton Factory, built in 1814, by the Northborough Manufacturing Company, at an expense of about $30,000, was lately sold at auction, and is now in the possession of Rogerson & Co. of Boston, and Isaac Davis, Esq. and Mr. Asaph Rice, of this town. It stands on the river Assabeth, which furnishes a sufficient supply of water during the principal part of the season; and contains over 700 spindles for Cotton, and 100 for Woollen, 10 looms, a fulling mill, carding machine, &c. and manufactures 80,000 yards of cloth annually.

There are in the town, two stores, furnished with a good assortment of English and West India Goods, the one kept by Gale & Davis; the other by Rice, Farnsworth, & Co.

Population, Deaths, &c.—At the time of the ordination of Rev. Mr. Martyn, (1746) there were 40 families in the place; the number had increased to 82 families at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Whitney, (1767); and, in 1796, to more than 110 families. By the census of 1810, the number of inhabitants was 794; by that of 1820, 1018, making an increase of 224 in ten years. By a census taken the last winter, however, and which it is believed is very nearly accurate, the whole number of inhabitants was only 946, of whom 488 were males, and 458 females.

In the autumn of 1746, the year that Rev. Mr. Martyn was ordained, and for several following years, particularly in 1749 and 1750, this society was visited by a very mortal sickness among

children, by which the growth of the society must have been very sensibly checked, and which must have been attended with circumstances of peculiar distress.*

Sixty children, out of a population which could not have much exceeded three hundred, fell victims to the desolating pestilence; and, with the exception of one adult, (Benjamin Rugg, a stranger,) were the first persons that were buried in the new church yard.†

This was the last sweeping, mortal sickness, with which this place has been visited.

Since the great sickness, in the years 1749 and 1750, no town in this vicinity has been more exempt from wasting, mortal distempers. The number of deaths from 1780, to 1800, including a period of twenty years, amounted to only 146, averaging a little more than 7 in a year. During the first twenty five years of the present century, the number was 282. The average number for the last ten years has been about 11¼ annually, in a population of nearly a thousand souls. The whole number of deaths from 1780, to the present date, (June, 1826) is 450; of whom seventy eight were 70 years and upwards; forty three, 80 years and upwards; seventeen, 90 years and upwards; one (Wid. Hannah Fay‡) in her hundredth year; and one (Deac. Jonathan Livermore§) one hundred years and seven months. There are now living in this town, five or six

* The sickness which prevailed in 1746, Capt. Timothy Brigham informs me, was the dysentery, then called, "the fever and flux." Capt. B. then a child of 10 years old, lost a sister, and was himself sick of the disease. He thinks that as many as 30 children died that year, in this place. He recollects being attended in his sickness by Doct. Benjamin Gott, of Marlborough. The sickness of 1749 and 1750, was the "throat distemper," as it was termed, which, for many years after its first appearance in New England, proved such a desolating scourge.

† The old burying ground, in which many of the first settlers of Northborough were interred, is east of the road leading to Westborough, a little south of the dwelling house of Mr. William Maynard. It is now overgrown with trees and brush.

‡ Widow Hannah Fay was a daughter of Nathaniel Oaks, was married to Gershom Fay, father of the late Thaddeus Fay, and died, March 8, 1806, aged 100.

§ Deac. Livermore came from Watertown about A. D. 1720, and settled on the Brown farm, so called, where David Dinsmore now lives. He was the first Parish Clerk in this place, which office he held many years. He died April 26, 1801, aged 101. A short time after he was 100 years old, he rode on horseback from his house to a military review, near the middle of the town, the distance of three miles, and returned without fatigue. He possessed uncommon learning for his time, was an accurate surveyor, and an excellent penman, owing to which circumstance, the early records of the town appear in a remarkably fine state.

persons over eighty years; and one, (Capt. Timothy Brigham,*) in his ninety first year. One couple (Capt. Amos Rice† and his wife) still survive, who were joined in marriage before the death of Rev. Mr. Martyn, who baptised their first child. They were married May 8th, 1766, and have lived together more than sixty years.

The average number of births for a year, has been, of late, about thirty; which, deducting the deaths, will give an annual increase of from fifteen to twenty souls.

Civil History.—Nothing has been found on record relating to the part which this town bore in the old *French wars*, as we have been accustomed to hear them called by our aged fathers. We learn, however, from the few who survive of the generation then on the stage of active life, that this small district was not backward in furnishing men to join the several expiditions, which were undertaken for the conquest of the French in Canada.

Eliphalet Warren, John Carruth, and Adam Fay, joined the expedition to Halifax, in 1754. In the following year, Benjamin Flood and Eber Eager, the latter of whom did not live to return, were at Crown point. In 1758, the eight following persons were with the army under General Abercrombie, at his defeat before Ticonderoga. Capt. Timothy Brigham, [now living and who retains a perfect recollection of the scenes he passed through in this ill-fated expedition,] Eliphalet Stone, Samuel Stone, [who died on his return,] Benjamin Flood, Josiah Bowker, Samuel Morse, Gideon Howard, and Joel Rice. Capt. Brigham says that the attack upon the French lines commenced at 5 o'clock, A. M. and lasted till 7 o'clock, P. M.; and that over 1900 of our men were missing at the calling of the rolls that evening. Capt. B. says that after this repulse, the army retreated to Lake George, soon after which, the company to

*Capt. Timothy Brigham is a son of Jesse, who was a son of Jonathan, who was a son of Thomas Brigham, one of the early settlers of Marlborough, He was present at the defeat of the English, under Abercrombie, before Ticonderoga, in 1758, and Lieutenant of the company of minute men that marched down to Cambridge on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. Jonathan Brigham was in the Indian fight, at Lancaster, (now Sterling) Aug. 19, 1707, and stood next to Richard Singletary, who was killed in the action. This fact, Capt. B. had from his own mouth.

†Capt. Amos Rice is a son of Jacob, who was a son of Jacob, who was a son of Edward, one of the 13 original petitioners for the Plantation of Marlborough. Benjamin, another son of Edward, was the father of Deac. Matthias Rice, and of Simeon Rice, late of this town, and of Zerubbabel Rice, late of Marlborough. Tradition says, that the first person by the name of Rice, who emigrated to New England, had eight sons, all of whom lived to be 90 years old and upwards.

which he belonged (Capt. Stephen Maynard's of Westborough) was dismissed and returned home.

There is one man, now living in this town, at the age of 88, nearly, [Lieut. Abraham Munroe] who was at Halifax, in the regiment of Maj. Rogers, of Londonderry, N. H. in the year 1757, and, at the taking of Ticonderoga under Gen. Amherst, in 1759. Mr. Munroe had there the rank of Ensign; and, in the following year, received a Lieutenancy. He served in the regiment of Col. Saltonstal, of Haverhill; and, at the departure of our army for Montreal, received orders to remain at the head of a detachment of men, for the purpose of completing the repairs of the fortifications at Crown Point. Lieut. Munroe continued at Ticonderoga, till his discharge, in May, 1763, under Capt. Omsbury, or Amsbury, to whom the command of the fort had been committed.

Several other persons belonging to this town, whose names I have not learned, were in service at different times during the French wars, some of whom did not live to return.

The following particulars have been collected relating to the part which this town bore in the burdens and privations of the revolutionary war.

It appears from the town records, that the inhabitants of this town, took an early and decided stand in defence of the liberties of our country. So early as March, 22d, 1773, more than two years before hostilities commenced, a number of spirited resolutions were passed at a district meeting, called for the purpose, among which were the following:

"2. Voted, as the opinion of this district, that it is the indispensable duty of all men and all bodies of men to unite and strenuously to oppose by all lawful ways and means, such unjust and unrighteous encroachments, made or attempted to be made upon their just rights; and that it is our duty earnestly to endeavor to hand those rights down inviolate to our posterity, as they were handed to us by our worthy ancestors.

"3. Voted, that the thanks of this district be given to the town of Boston for their friendly, seasonable and necessary intelligence; and that they be desired to keep their watch, and guard against all such invaders and incroaches for the future.

"4. Voted, that Capt. Bez. Eager, Doct. Stephen Ball, and Mr. Timothy Fay, be a committee to make answer to the committee of corres., at Boston, informing them of the opinion of this district in this matter."

In August of the following year, eight months before the war commenced, at a special meeting called for the purpose, the district passed the following vote.—"That we are determined to defend our charter rights and privileges, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, and that the town desire the committee of correspondence,* to write to their brethren in Boston, and inform them thereof."

In November, 1774, the district voted to appropriate money in the treasury to buy one hundred pounds of powder; three hundred pounds of lead, and two hundred and forty flints; and on June 3d, 1776, it was resolved, "that it was the mind of this town to be independent of Great Britain, in case the Continental Congress think proper; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes, if in Providence called, to defend the same."

Some time before the war broke out, a company of fifty minute men was raised in this town, under the command of the late Capt. Samuel Wood, who held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, whenever and wherever hostilities should commence.† At length the memorable 19th of April arrived, on which day, the first blood in our Revolutionary struggle was shed, at Lexington and Concord. On the same day, before one o'clock, P. M. the tidings reached this place. The company of minute men belonging to this town was collecting at the time to listen to an occasional patriotic discourse from Rev. Mr. Whitney. They were directed without a moment's delay, to put themselves in readiness to march; and in three or four hours from the time when the news arrived, they had taken leave of their families and were paraded in the yard of Capt. Woods' house, whence (the Rev. Mr. Whitney having in a fervent prayer commended them to the protection of the God of armies,) they immediately set out on their march for the field of danger and of blood.‡

*The following persons were a standing committee of Correspondence, in 1774. Bezaleel Eager, Seth Rice, Jr. Levi Brigham, Gillam Bass, and John Ball. In the following year, the ever memorable 1775, there were seven on the committee of correspondence, viz. Thadeus Fay, John Ball, Joel Rice, Amos Rice, [now living] Artemas Brigham, Jethro Peters, and Nathan Green.

† April 10th, 1775, the town voted to pay fifty minute men one shilling each, for each half day they shall meet to learn the Military art, for sixteen half days; and granted £40 for that purpose. The town also voted that Mr. Timothy Brigham, Constable, pay to Henry Gardner, Esq. the Province tax, which he has now in his hands, for the year 1773, and the District will indemnify him. Also Voted, to indemnify the Assessors for not making the province tax for the year 1774.

‡ Of the fifty men belonging to this company, the following persons are now living in this town. Capt. Timothy Brigham, then the Lieut. of the

Nor did the spirited resolutions, above adverted to, end in idle words. They were the result of reflection and patriotic principle; and they led to the cheerful endurance of privations and hardships, of which the descendants can probably form no adequate conception.

At one time five, and soon after three, at another five, at another seven, and on one occasion seventeen men, were called for from this small town by the General Court, and were marched in some instances, several hundred miles, to mingle in the scenes of war.*

In the spring of 1781, agreeably to a resolve of the General Court, this town was divided into eight classes, each class being required to furnish a man to serve in the Continental Army for the term of three years, or during the war. And what is worthy of remark, as it is an evidence of the patriotic spirit which prevailed among this people in the preceeding autumn, viz. December 28, 1780, the town, taking into consideration the hardships undergone by those who had entered into the service of their country, and especially the losses they had sustained, by being paid in a depreciated currency, generously voted to raise their quota of men, and to pay and clothe them at their own expense, allowing them 40 shillings each, per month, in hard money, and £21 per year, also in hard money, in addition to their clothes.†

Six men more were called for from this town in the following summer; five to go to West Point, and one to Rhode Island, who were accordingly raised, and the town granted £122 5*s.* in hard money, (or $407,50,) to pay the same. At the same time, they were required to purchase, for the use of the army, 3518*lbs.* of beef, for which the town granted £77, in hard money (or $256,66.) The whole amount granted at this meeting, and which went to the support of the war, was therefore $664,16 in hard money; which, considering the population of the town and the value of hard money at that period, was a great sum and must have been felt as a heavy burden. Previous to the June, 1778, it appears from the town

company, Capt. Amos Rice, Mr. Isaac How, Mr. Joseph Sever, Mr. Reuben Babcock, and Mr. Nathan Rice. Capt. Samuel Wood, the commander of the company, died September 21, 1818, aged 75 years. He was present, and received a slight wound, at the battle of Bunker Hill. The Ensign of the company was Mr. Thomas Sever, now of Townsend, in this state.

* "July 13th, 1780, the town voted and granted the sum of ten thousand pounds to pay seventeen men hired into the service, nine for the term of six months, and eight for the term of three months."

† Town Records, I. p. 212.

records, that this town had expended in money and service towards carrying on the war £1474 14*s.* 1*d.* in a depreciated currency probably, the precise value of which, it is difficult now to determine.*

Such, we presume is no more than a fair specimen of the burdens borne by the community in support of the war of our Independence, and of the spirit with which they were borne.

In many, very many instances indeed, the people were impoverished and brought low. But they were not disheartened; and, by the smiles of a merciful Providence, their efforts were crowned with complete success. Let us who have entered into their labors not forget what we owe to that far-famed generation, who supported the privations and hardships of a long and harrassing conflict, in support of our cherished liberties.†

The number was small of those who had refused to embark in the cause of liberty, the names of four only being recorded as absentees, whose estates were confiscated near the close of the war.‡

The patriotism of two others was indeed suspected, and they were subjected to a good deal of inconvenience in consequence of it.§

* The town records contain a list of the names of 90 persons (probably the whole number who paid taxes) with the amount contributed by each.

"October 30, 1780, the town granted £6660 to purchase beef for the army." This I suppose was when the depreciation of money was nearly, or quite at the lowest ebb, about which time, £2933 6*s.* 8*d.* were granted to Rev. Mr. Whitney by an unanimous vote of the town, in addition to his yearly salary.

"May 17, 1781, the town granted the sum of £3300 0*s.* 0*d.* to pay for three horses for the use of the Continental army."

† Among the survivors of the soldiers of the revolution, in this town, five received pensions from the U. States, agreeably to the law passed, April, 1818.

From all these, however, with the exception of two, one of whom has since died, their pensions were withdrawn, after the modification of the law, in 1820. Since that time, two of the number, reduced to poverty, have recovered their pensions; and the only remaining one from whom it was withdrawn, and who, depending on the pension, had involved himself in debt in erecting a small building for his accommodation, has been compelled to part with his snug little farm, and is now, in his old age, reduced to the very verge of absolute want. Such, so far as I have witnessed it, has been the operation of the laws respecting pensions to Revolutionary Soldiers. It may be remarked moreover, that the two to whom the pensions were continued, had been a town charge, and were not regarded as very valuable members of the community.

‡These were James Eager and his son, John Eager; and Ebenezer Cutler, and Michael Martyn, sons in law of the late Capt. James Eager, of this town.

§ These were John Taylor, and Sylvanus Billings. The former, a gentleman of handsome property and who had been one of the leading men of the town; the latter also a man of considerable estate.

After the close of the war, the embarrassments arising from the want of a circulating medium, when almost all were deeply involved in debt, caused much uneasiness, and led the people to devise measures for their removal. August 7th, 1786, Isaac Davis was chosen as a delegate to attend a County Convention, at Leicester, on the 15th inst. to whom the following, among other instructions, were given by a committee appointed by the town. The delegate was to use his influence "that the Convention petition his Excellency, the Governor, and Council, to call the General Court together, in the month of October next, at fartherest; and that the Convention present a humble and decent petition to the General Court to set up and establish a mint in the Commonwealth, &c." Complaints were also made of the salaries of the civil list, being so high, and of various other grievances under which the people labored.* There was nothing, however, of the spirit of rebellion or insubordination in the resolutions that were passed at this meeting, or in the conduct which followed; and though it appears from the representations of all, that the people generally were reduced to the greatest straits, yet only three or four individuals were found willing to join in the rebellion of that year, and to seek redress by measures of violence.†

Schools, &c.—Previous to the year 1766, I can find on record, no appropriations made for the education of youth. But I am informed that several instructors had, before that period, been em-

* There prevailed, at this time, very generally through the country, the most violent prejudices against the profession of the law. One of the instructions given to the delegate, at this time, was, that he was to use his influence in the convention, by petitioning and remonstrating to the General Court, "that the whole order of Lawyers be annihilated; for we conceive them not only to be building themselves upon the ruins of the distressed, but said order has increased, and is daily increasing, far beyond any other set or order of men among us, in numbers and affluence; and we apprehend they may become ere long somewhat dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people."

† The following is a list of the names of those who have represented this town in the General Court, from 1775, to the present time.

Col. Levi Brigham, from 1775, to 1777.—John Ball, 1778, 1782, and 1785.—Deac. Paul Newton, 1779, and 1780.—Deac. Seth Rice, 1783.—Deac. Isaac Davis, seven years—between 1787 and 1798.—Deac. Nahum Fay, 1800 and 1801.—James Keyes, Esq. eighteen years, from 1802, to the present time.

From the above account, it appears that this town has been represented thirty six years since the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

The following persons have been commissioned Justices of the peace. The first commission is dated July 3, 1793. Nahum Fay, Seth Grout, Isaac Davis, Stephen Williams, James Keyes, Phineas Davis, and Cyrus Gale. Of this number, three, Seth Grout, Isaac Davis and James Keyes, have since deceased.

ployed to teach, at private houses, in different parts of the town, and who were paid by the voluntary contributions of the parents. The first school house that was erected in this town, stood on the meeting house common, whence it was afterwards removed, and now forms part of the dwelling house of Mr. Joel Bartlett.* In 1770, the district was divided into four squadrons; but it was not till 1780, that the town passed a vote to build school houses in the several squadrons, and granted money for that purpose. The town granted £4000 for building four school houses, which, at the time it was expended, amounted to only £52 6*s.* 8*d.* to which they added £110 6*s.* 8*d.* amounting to £163 13*s.* 4*d.*

Since that period two new School districts have been formed; so that there are now six districts in the town, in each of which, a school is kept from eight to twelve weeks, both winter and summer.

The following is an abstract of the return of the School committee, made in May last, to the General Court.

Amount paid for public Instruction, $600.
Time of keeping school in the year, 6 months each district.

Males under 7 years,	47	Females under 7 years,	39
From 7 to 14,	98	From 7 to 14,	75
From 14 and upwards,	68	From 14 and upwards,	47
Males,	213	Females,	161
			213
		Total,	374

There are, in this town, three respectable Libraries, containing in all about 500 volumes, exclusive of the Juvenile Library, which contains nearly 150 volumes, suited to children and youth.

The Juvenile Library, commenced in 1824, is supported by an annual contribution, and, under a few simple regulations, is accessible to all the children and youth, over the age of 7 years, residing in the town.

Many young men, educated in our schools, have been employed as Instructors, both here and in other towns, and have generally proved worthy of the confidence reposed in them.

Besides several professional gentlemen educated in our schools, and in the neighboring Academies, twelve young men have received a public education, eight of whom are graduates of Harvard

* Mr. Thomas Goodenow was the first Instructor, supported at the expense of the town. Mr. James Hart, a foreigner, was employed about this time, (1770) and is frequently spoken of as the father of the many excellent penmen for which this town has, in former years, been famed.

University, at Cambridge, one of Brown University, and one each, of Yale, Dartmouth, and Williams' Colleges.

Their names, professions, &c. are as follow.

1. Jonathan Livermore, son of the late Deac. Jonathan Livermore, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1760; settled in the ministry at Wilton, N. H. in 1763; was dismissed, but remained in that place, where he died, July, 1809, in the 80th year of his age.

2. Ebenezer Rice, son of the late Simon Rice,* was graduated at Harvard University, in 1760; was a Physician, and a justice of the peace, in Marlborough; afterwards removed to Barre, where he died.

3. Jacob Rice, son of the late Jacob Rice, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1765; settled in Henniker, N. H. being the first minister in that place; was dismissed, on account of ill health; was installed at Brownfield, Oxford County, Me. where he remained till his death, which took place suddenly, Feb. 1, 1824, Lord's Day, having preached to his people in the morning.

4. Elijah Brigham, son of the late Col. Levi Brigham, was graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1778; commenced the study of Divinity, which he soon relinquished, and engaged in mercantile business with his brother in law, Breck Parkman, Esq. of Westborough: in 1795, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; for several years was a Senator and Counsellor of this Commonwealth, a Justice through the State, and a Representative of this District in the Congress of the United States, from 1810 to the time of his death. Judge Brigham died suddenly, at Washington, Feb. 22, 1816, aged 64.

5. John Taylor, son of the late John Taylor, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1786; is now a Counsellor at Law, in Northampton, and one of the Representatives of that town in the General Court.

6. Peter Whitney, son of Rev. Peter Whitney, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1791; now the minister of Quincy, in this State, where he was ordained, Feb. 5, 1800.

7. Henry Gassett, son of Henry Gassett, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1795; is now a merchant, in Boston.

8. Israel Munroe, son of Abraham Munroe, was graduated at Harvard University, in 1800; was for some years a Counsellor at Law, in Boston; he now resides in the city of New York.

* Simon Rice, the father of Dr. Ebenezer Rice, was a brother of the late Deac. Matthias Rice, of this town. He lived just within the limits of Northborough, near the dwelling house of Mr. Ephraim Barnard.

9. Warren Fay, son of Nahum Fay, Esq. was graduated at Harvard University, in 1807; ordained at Brimfield, Nov. 3, 1808; dismissed, June 26, 1811; installed at Harvard, Jan. 26, 1814; dismisse', at his own request, Jan. 5, 1820; installed as minister of the First Congregational Church and Society in Charlestown, Feb. 23, 1820.

10. Luther Rice, son of Capt. Amos Rice, was graduated at Williams College, in 1810; ordained at Salem, Feb. 6, 1812, as a Missionary; sailed for Calcutta in company with Messrs. Hall & Judson, Feb. 18, 1812. Soon after his arrival he changed his views on the subject of baptism; was baptised by immersion; and, in the autumn of 1813, returned to this country. He now resides in Washington, D. C. and is Treasurer of Columbia College.

11. John Davis, son of the late Isaac Davis, Esq. was graduated at Yale College, in 1812; is now a Counsellor at Law, in Worcester, and represents this District in the Congress of the U. S.

12. Isaac Davis, son of Phineas Davis, Esq. was graduated at Brown University, in 1822; is now an Attorney at Law, in Worcester.

There are, at present, two physicians in this place, Docts. Stephen Ball, Sen'r. and Jun'r. The only other physician who made Northborough his permanent residence, was the late Doct. Stephen Ball, father of Stephen Ball, Sen'r. There has never been a lawyer residing in the place, with the exception of John Winslow, Esq. who remained here only a few years. And, it is a singular fact, that with this exception, and that of the three successive ministers, all of whom were educated at Harvard University, none of the permanent inhabitants of the town, at this or at any former period, received a public and liberal education.

Ecclesiastical, &c.—Measures were taken immediately after Northborough became a separate precinct, to support the public worship of God, by building a church, and procuring a minister.

December 31, 1744, the parish voted to build a meeting house, and to raise £50, lawful money, for that purpose. This led, as frequently happens, to a controversy respecting the location of the edifice, which, after several months continuance, was finally submitted to the arbitration of three respectable men from the neighboring towns, Capt. Daniel Heywood, of Worcester, Capt. John Haynes, of Sudbury, and Capt. Thomas Hapgood, of Shrewsbury, who fixed on the spot, near the site of the present church. The land on which the house was erected, was given to the town for

the use of its inhabitants, by Capt. James Eager, by a deed bearing date April 26, 1745, "so long as the said inhabitants of the north precinct shall improve said land for the standing of a meeting house for the public worship of God."

The committee reported, April 24, 1745; and, on April 30, only 6 days after, the house was raised; a vote having previously passed, that "every man should provide for the raising as he was spirited."*

New difficulties now arose respecting the settlement of a minister. Several candidates had been employed; and, as usually happens in such cases, the minds of the people were divided between them. Under these circumstances, the precinct appointed a fast for the 12th Sept. 1745, and sent for five of the neighboring ministers "to give them their advice who they should apply to for candidates, in order to a choice."

The following gentlemen attended on the occasion; viz. Rev. Mr. Prentice, Rev. Mr. Parkman, Rev. Mr. Cushing, and Rev. Mr. Morse, who recommended that the parish should hear a few sabbaths each, two candidates from Cambridge, Rev. Mr. Rand, and Mr. Jedediah Adams, in order to a choice. Mr. John Martyn was one of the candidates, who had previously been employed by the parish; and although they complied with the advice of the neighboring ministers, so far as to hear the other candidates two sabbaths each, yet on the 19th of December, 1745, "Mr. John Martyn was chosen by a clear vote"; and a salary was offered him of £50 in bills of the last emission, (which was at 7*s.* 6*d.* per ounce,) or £200 in bills of the old form and tenor, after the rate of silver at 30*s.* per ounce, or in other bills of public credit, equivalent to the said sum, and to be paid at two payments annually." Besides this, a settlement of $300, old tenor, was voted by the parish.

Mr. Martyn accepted the invitation, and was ordained, May 21, 1746, O. S. a church having been gathered on the same day, consisting of ten brethren, besides the pastor elect, four of whom, it is worthy of notice, were foreigners.†

* The dimensions of the first meeting house were 46 feet by 36. The whole cost of finishing the outside was £443 11*s.* 2*d.* The building committee consisted of Capt. James Eager, Wm. Holloway, and Jesse Brigham. The house was framed by Daniel Hemminway. The price of labor at this time, was, in the old tenor currency, for a man per day scoring timber, 6*s.* for hewing, 6*s.* 6*d.* for carpenter's work, 8*s.* White pine timber, 3 pence per foot; for oak, 2½ pence, running measure. "Allowed Jotham Bartlett £2 10*s.* for two barrels of cider at the raising of the meeting house."

† The following are the names of the persons who subscribed to the church

The ordaining council consisted of the following pastors, with their delegates:

Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Westborough, who preached on the occasion, from Heb. xiii. 17; Rev. Mr. Prentice, of Lancaster, who gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Cushing, of Shrewsbury, who expressed the fellowship of the Churches; Rev. Mr. Loring, of Sudbury; Rev. Mr. Hall, of Sutton; Rev. Mr. Gardner, of Stow; and Rev. Mr. Barrett, of Hopkinton.

Although the ceremonies of the ordination took place in the meeting house, yet it appears from the town records that it was in a very unfinished state, having neither pulpit, galleries, glass windows, nor even permanent floors. It was not till June, in the following year, that a vote could be obtained "to glaze the meeting house and lay the floors;" and not till the next autumn, that the pulpit and gallery stairs were built. This was indeed the day of small things; and when we compare the accommodations of the spacious and elegant temple since erected near the spot, with the loose floors, and rough seats, and open windows of the house in which our fathers worshipped, we shall do well to inquire whether we surpass them as much in the punctuality of our attendance, and the spirituality of our worship, as in the beauty and accommodations of the place of our solemnities.

Northborough became an incorporated district, Jan. 24, 1766, not long after which, viz. April 30, 1767, the Rev. John Martyn, after a short illness, departed this life, in the 61st year of his age, and the 21st of his ministry. His wife died, Sept. 8, 1775, aged 70.

Mr. Martyn was a son of Capt. Edward Martyn, of Boston, where he spent his early life, under the care of an excellent mother, who had been left a widow in easy circumstances, some time previous to young Mr. Martyn's entering college. Mr. Martyn was graduated at Harvard University, in 1724. For several years after he left college, he devoted his attention to secular pursuits, and was for some time an inhabitant of Harvard, in this county.*

covenant at this time.—John Martyn, the pastor elect; Ephraim Allen; Joshua Dowsing, (sometimes written Townsend) from England; John McAllester, from Ireland; Jonathan Livermore, (afterwards Deac. Livermore;) Gershom Fay; Matthias Rice, (afterwards Deac. Rice;) Samuel Allen; Jacob Shepherd, a foreigner; John Carruth, also a foreigner; and Silas Fay.

* Rev. Mr. Martyn was married to Miss Mary Marret, of Cambridge, by whom he had the following children: John, who lived in this town; Mary, married to a Minot, of Concord; Michael, who was married to Zilpah, daughter of James Eager, and lived in this town till the commencement of the rev-

At length, at the age of 40, he directed his attention to Theological pursuits, and became an able, faithful, and useful minister. He possessed, in a large measure, the confidence and affections of his flock, was honored in his life, and deeply lamented at his death.

Rev. Peter Whitney was the only person employed as a candidate in this place between the death of Mr. Martyn and his own ordination.

Mr. Martyn died the last day of April; and, after an interval of only 6 months and 4 days, that is, on the 4th of the following November, his successor was inducted into the office of a christian minister.*

The services at his ordination were performed by the following persons. Rev. Mr. Morse, of the second church in Shrewsbury, (now Boylston) made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Petersham, the father of the candidate, preached from Matthew, xxviii. 19, 20.; Rev. Mr. Parkman, of Westborough, made the consecrating prayer, and gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Marlborough, expressed the fellowship of the churches; and Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Chelmsford, made the concluding prayer. The other ministers on the ordaining council, were, Rev. Mr. Stone, of Southborough; Rev. Mr. Goss, of Bolton; Rev. Mr. Morrell, of Wilmington; Rev. Mr. Davis, of Holden; Rev. Mr. Woodward, of Weston; Rev. Mr. Clark, of Lexington; Rev. Mr. Sumner, of Shrewsbury; and Rev. Mr. Cummings, of Billerica.

The salary of Rev. Mr. Whitney was £66 13*s.* 4*d.* with a settlement of £160, lawful money.

Rev. Peter Whitney was the son of Rev. Aaron Whitney, the first minister of Petersham, was born Sept. 17, 1744. He was graduated at Harvard University, 1762, where he pursued his Theological studies preparatory to entering on the work of the ministry.

Distinguished for the urbanity of his manners, easy and familiar in his intercourse with his people, hospitable to strangers, and always ready to give a hearty welcome to his numerous friends; punctual to his engagements, observing an exact method in the distribution of his time, having a time for every thing and doing every thing in its time, without hurry or confusion; conscientious in the

olutionary war; Richard, who settled in Windsor, Conn.; and Nathaniel, who removed to one of the Southern States. Widow Abigail Fay, is the daughter of John, abovenamed, and is now living in this place.

* Mr. Whitney began to preach in Northborough, June 7, 1767, and gave his answer to settle the 12th of the following October.

discharge of his duties as a christian minister, catholic in his principles and in his conduct, always taking an interest in whatever concerned the prosperity of the town and the interests of religion, he was, for many years, the happy minister of a kind and an affectionate people. At length, having continued in the work of the ministry almost half a century, he suddenly departed this life, February 29, 1816, in the 72d year of his age, and the 49th of his useful ministry.*

Mr. Whitney was married to Miss Julia Lambert, of Reading, in this state, by whom he had ten children who lived to man's estate, eight of whom still survive.

Mrs. Whitney survived her husband nearly five years, and died at Quincy, while on a visit to her children, Jan. 10, 1821, aged 79 years. All who knew Madam Whitney will bear testimony to her worth; and admit that she possessed, in no common measure, dignity of manners, sprightliness of mind, and goodness of heart. She was indeed a most pleasant companion and a most valuable friend.

The writer of these sketches was the only candidate employed by their society after the death of his immediate predecessor; and after a probation of about four months, was ordained their minister, Oct. 30, 1816.† His salary is $600 per annum.

* Rev. Mr. Martyn left none of his writings in print. His successor made himself extensively known by his History of Worcester County; a work highly valuable for the facts it records, many of which would probably have been lost, had they not, with great pains and fidelity, been collected and embodied in this work. It is a work, the value of which will not be diminished by the more minute histories now publishing in the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal.

The other printed writings of Mr. Whitney, so far as they have come to my knowledge, are—Two Discourses, delivered July 4, 1774; a Sermon, delivered at a Lecture, July 4, 1776, on publishing the Declaration of Independence; a half Century Sermon, preached June 1, 1796; a Sermon at the ordination of his son, Rev. Peter Whitney, of Quincy, February 5, 1800; a Sermon preached at Shrewsbury, February 16, 1810, at the funeral of Mrs. Lucy Sumner, wife of the Rev. Joseph Sumner, D. D.; and a notice of a remarkable apple tree, in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The publication of the History of Worcester County recommended the author to the notice of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who elected him a member of that association.

† The ordination services were performed by the following persons:—Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Quincy, made the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Prof. Ware, of Harvard University, preached from Jer. xv. 19; Rev. Pres. Kirkland, of H. U. made the Consecrating Prayer; Rev. Dr. Saunders, of Medfield, gave the charge; Rev. John E. Abbott, of Salem, gave the Right hand of Fellowship; Rev. Dr. Puffer, of Berlin, made the Concluding Prayer. Besides the above, the following Ministers were on the Council: Rev. Dr. Sumner, of Shrewsbury; Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester; Rev. Dr. Thayer, of

It appears, therefore, that from the ordination of Rev. Mr. Martyn, in 1746, to the present time, a period of 80 years, this christian society has been destitute of a settled minister only about 14 months; a fact highly creditable to the members of this society, as an evidence of their regard for the institutions of religion, and of the union and harmony which have long subsisted among them. And it may justly be considered, that the town is indebted to the spirit of union which has hitherto so generally prevailed among us, for the respectable rank which it now maintains. It would be easy, however painful, to predict the consequences of the prevalence of an opposite spirit. Large and opulent societies can bear to be reduced by division. But in societies small as this, and whose resources are no greater than ours, union should be the watchword of all who wish well to the cause of human improvement.

It is worthy of remark, that there has never been but one religious society in this town, and that only a very few families have, at any time, withdrawn themselves from the Congregational society. Four or five families of the Baptist denomination usually attend public worship in the adjoining towns. The first person of this denomination in this town, was Thomas Billings, who joined the Baptist Society, in Leicester, in 1766.

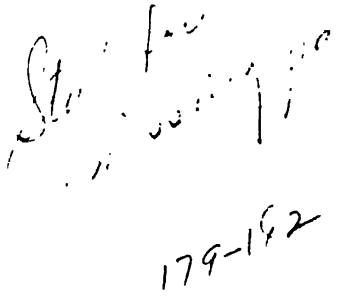
The increase of wealth and population, and a regard for the institutions of religion, led the inhabitants of this town, in the spring and summer of 1808, to erect a new and more spacious house for public worship.

The new Church is 56 ft. square, with a projection of 34 ft. by 15, surmounted by a tower, and cost, including the bell, $11,408 04. The cost of the bell was $510 00; its weight about 1200 lbs.

The proportions of this building are much admired by persons of good taste; and its location is such, that it appears to great advantage from the main road. May it long stand; and be to this Society a bond of union, and the place whither they shall delight to bring their stated offerings of prayer and praise.*

Lancaster; Rev. Mr. Packard, of Marlborough; Rev. Mr. Rockwood, of Westborough; Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Boylston; Rev. Mr. Frothingham, of Boston; Rev. Mr. Ripley, of Waltham; and Rev. Mr. Damon, of Lunenburg. Rev. J. Allen was born in Medfield, August 15, 1790, and was graduated at Harvard University, in 1811.

* The committee for building the new meeting house consisted of the following persons; James Keyes, Esq. Stephen Williams, Esq. Isaac Davis, Esq. Hollon Maynard, Col. William Eager, Seth Grout, Esq. Asaph Rice, and Phineas Davis, Esq. The business was committed to a sub-committee, composed of three; S. Williams, Esq. Asaph Rice, and Phineas Davis, Esq. The house was built by Col. Eames, of Buckland, and Capt. Brooks, of Princeton.



Silas Fay,	Capt. Henry Hastings.
Thomas Billings,	Col. John Crawford.
John Oakes,	Joel Gassett.

The following twelve names were added, in 1752.

†James Ball,	Edward B. Ball.
Cornet Simeon Howard,	Nahum Fay, Esq.
† Nathan Ball,	Nathan Ball.
† Josiah Rice,	William Maynard.
† Gershom Fay,	Benjamin Rice.
† Samuel Allen,	Samuel Allen.
John McAllester,	Hollon Maynard.
Deac. Jonas Livermone,	David Dinsmore.
Thomas Goodenow,	Stephen Howe.
Seth Hudson,	Near Ephraim Barnard's.
George Oakes,	Luther Hawse.
† Seth Rice, Sen.	Calvin Hastings.

To the above list the following names may be subjoined.

John Martyn, Jun.	Benjamin Munroe.
Zephaniah Briggs,	Capt. Joseph Davis.
† Deac. Paul Newton,	Martyn Newton.
† Col. Levi Brigham, (6)	Winslow Brigham.
† Samuel Wood, Sen. (7)	Samuel Sever.
†Thomas Warren, and his son †Eliphalet Warren, (8)	Abel Warren.
Jonathan Hayward, and his son Gideon Hayward,	Lowell Holbrook.
†Jonathan Bruce,	Samuel Dalrymple.
Joshua Townsend,	John F. Fay.
† John Carruth,	Joseph Carruth.
† William Babcock,	David Mahan.
Josiah Goddard,	Silas Bailey.
Solomon Goddard,	Jonas Babcock.
Silas Rice,	Benjamin Flagg.
Samuel Gamwell, Jun.	Reuben Babcock.
William Carruth,	Daniel Smith.
George Smith,	Do.
Joshua Child,	On the South Road.
Warren,	Do.
Capt. Timothy Brigham, now living,	Oliver Eager.

NOTES.

Brief notices of several persons whose names are found in the foregoing list.

1. Oliver ? Ward. I understand that a farmer of the name of Ward, was the first settler on the farm of Jonathan Bartlett, and I conclude that his name was Oliver from the circumstances that, in 1710, forty three acres of land were laid out to Thomas and Oliver Ward "on Woody Hill, near the upper end of Cold Harbor, north side of the brook, next John Brigham's meadow."

2. Daniel Bartlett, was a son of Henry Bartlett, who emigrated from Wales and settled in Marlborough, in the latter part of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth Century. He was the common ancestor of all of that name in this town. His sons were Jotham, settled in this town, grandfather of Gill Bartlett; Daniel, settled in Rutland; Jonathan, father of

Jotham and Jonathan, in this town; John, in Princeton; Isaac, in Holden; and Jonas, father of Deac. Jonas B. in this town. A brother of Daniel settled in Western or Brookfield, probably the Benjamin Bartlett, whose daughter Mary, born 1701, was the first child born in Brookfield, whose birth was recorded. (1 Hist. Col. 1, 267.)

3. Jacob Rice, son of Jacob Rice of Marlborough, first lived a little south of the dwelling house of Doct. Stephen Ball, afterwards removed to the house now owned by his grandson, Asaph Rice. He was the father of John Rice, of Shrewsbury; Jacob, minister of Brownfield, Maine; and Amos, now living in this town. The brothers of Jacob were Amos and Obediah, of Brookfield, and Gershom, of Marlborough. Jacob Rice died, July 29, 1788, aged 81.

4. Capt. Jesse Brigham, son of Jonathan Brigham of Marlborough, was the father of Artemas, and Capt. Tim. Brigham, the latter of whom is now living in this town. Jesse Brigham died, Dec. 8, 1796, aged 87.

5. Capt. Bezaleel Eager, came from Marlborough to the place where his grandson, Col. Wm. Eager now lives. Two brothers, Abraham and Capt. Benjamin Eager, came about the same time to Shrewsbury, and were among the first settlers of that town. Their father or grandfather was from Concord; Bezaleel Eager, died Oct. 31, 1787, aged 74.

6. Col. Levi Brigham, son of David Brigham of Westborough, was the father of the late Judge Brigham, and of Winslow Brigham now living in this town. Col. Brigham was chosen July 10, 1775, to represent this town in the Assembly to be convened at the meeting house in Watertown, the 19th of that month. He died Feb. 1, 1787, aged 71.

7. Samuel Wood came from Sudbury, and set up the first fulling mill in this town. He was the father of the late Abraham and Capt. Samuel Wood, who lived together on the same farm now in the possession of Samuel Sever.

8. Thomas Warren, from Watertown, was the father of Eliphalet, who left many descendents in this town and in other places.

APPENDIX II. Referring to page 134. The Grants for house lots were made 26th November. 1660, and were in the following proportions.

	Acres.		*Acres.*
Edmund Rice	50	Richard Ward	18
William Ward	50	John Woods	30
John Ruddock	50	John Maynard	23
Thomas Goodenow	32	Peter King	22
Joseph Rice	32	Benjamin Rice	24
Samuel Rice	21	A Minister	30
Christopher Bannister	16	Peter Bent	30
Thomas King	39	John Bellows	20
William Kerley	30	Abraham How	25
Solomon Johnson	30	Thomas Goodenow Jun.	20
Richard Newton	30	John Rutter	30
John Howe, Sen.	30	John Barrett	18
John Howe Jun.	16	John Rediat	22
Henry Kerley	19½	A Smith	30
Richard Barnes	16	Joseph Holmes	18
Thomas Rice	35	Samuel How	16
Andrew Belcher	20	Henry Axtell	15
Obadiah Ward	21	John Newton	16
Edward Rice	35	38 house lots,	992½ acres.

NOTES.

Brief notices of several persons whose names are found in the foregoing list.

Edmund Rice was probably the father of Edmund Rice, one of the first settlers of Westborough, whose children Silas and Timothy were taken by the Indians and carried into captivity. If so, he was the great grandfather of the late Deac. Seth Rice of this town. He was one of the selectmen of Marlborough, in 1661.

Wm. Ward was one of the first deacons of the Church at Marlborough, and had a house lot assigned him on the south side of the road opposite the Rev. Mr. Brimsmead's. He was one of the selectmen in 1661. He was the grandfather of the late Col. William Ward, of Southborough. He was probably also an ancestor of the late Maj. Gen. Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury. There were, however, three persons of the name of Ward, viz. William, Obediah, and Richard, to whom house lots in Marlborough were granted at this time, (1662.) From the following inscription on a grave stone in the old burying ground in Marlborough, it would appear that the person to whom it belongs, was born before either of the New England colonies was planted. "Here lyes the body of Elizabeth Ward, the servant of the Lord, deceased in 87 year of her age, December the 9 in the year of our Lord 1700.

John Ruddock, was one of the selectmen of Marlborough, also a recorder or clerk in 1661, and a deacon of the church in 1689.

Of Thomas Goodenow, Richard Newton and John How, some account has already been given. Thomas Goodenow and John How, were selectmen in 1661, as also were Thomas King and Solomon Johnson, the latter of whom was afterwards a deacon of the church.

The name of Andrew Belcher, occurs in Dr. Holmes' History of Cambridge, (1. Hist. Col. Vol. VII. 28, 34,) who quotes from the Town Records the following: "The townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beare and bread, for entertainment of strangers, and the good of the town." This was in 1652. Whether this is the same person whose name is found among the proprietors of Marlborough eight years afterwards, I am unable to say. A Capt. Andrew Belcher is said to have given to the first parish in Cambridge, the bell now in use, in the year 1700. I am informed too that the name of Andrew Belcher, Esq. frequently occurs in the records of the Gen. Court; that he was for some years an assistant, a member of the King's Council, and often a member of the Legislature; and that, in 1689, he was a messenger to treat with the Indians at Albany, &c. It is not improbable that he lived for a time at Marlborough, and that he afterwards returned to Cambridge, and sustained the several offices abovementioned.

Edward Rice was a deacon of the church in 1689; and was, as has been mentioned, the grandfather of the late Deac. Matthias Rice, of Simon Rice, and of Jacob Rice, of this town. It is not improbable, taking into view the connexion between Sudbury and Concord, that the Richard Rice, who is mentioned as one of the first settlers of Concord, in 1635, (1. Hist. Col. Vol. 1, 240.) was the common ancestor of all of that name in this part of the country, and the person, who, as tradition says, left eight sons, who all lived to a very great age. The Rice family has been remarkable for longevity.

Two of this name, Cyprian and Elisha Rice, who went from Marlborough, died at Brookfield in 1788, the one in the 98th, and the other in the 99th year of his age. Hist. Col. 1. 273.

Of the other persons mentioned in the foregoing list, I have no account to give. Maj. Peter Bulkley was mentioned, page 138, as one of the persons who assisted in procuring the Indian deed of Marlborough. This was undoubtedly a son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, who was the first minister and one of the first settlers of Concord, then called Musketaquid. Rev. Mr. Bulkley, had a number of children who were much distinguished in their day. One of his sons, Gershom, was married to a daughter of President Chauncey, and was the father of John Bulkley, minister of Colchester, Conn.

Maj. Peter Bulkley, was in 1678–9, an agent for the Corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, respecting the Narrhagansett country, (1 Hist. Col. V. 221) and in the first year of James II. was appointed by the King's commission, one of the Council, of which Joseph Dudley, Esq. was President. 1. Hist. V. 245.

It appears from the State Records, that a grant of 1000 acres of land in the Nipmug or Kittituck country, was made to Maj. Bulkley, by the General Court, for some service he had performed for the public.

Appendix III.

Ministers of Marlborough.—Rev. William Brimsmead, the first minister of Marlborough, was a native of Dorchester, a member of the class that graduated at Harvard College, in 1648, but who left with several others in the preceding year, without a degree, in consequence of dissatisfaction with the regulation then introduced of requiring a residence of four years instead of three. He was employed as a preacher, at Marlborough, as early as 1660; was afterwards, in 1665, after several months probation, invited to settle in Plymouth, with an offer of £70 salary and firewood, which he declined, and was ordained at Marlborough, October 3d, 1666.

John Cotton, Esq. of Plymouth, in his history of that town, (1760) speaks of him as "a well acomplished servant of Christ."

He preached the Election Sermon, 1681, on Jer. 6. 8. which was printed. His salary in Marlborough was from 40 to £45 per annum.

It appears from the following record that he was unable to supply the pulpit during the latter part of his life. "May 6, 1700. Voted, to send to Cambridge for a candidate for the ministry."

"July 12. Voted unanimously, by church and town, to invite Mr. Swift to help with our present pastor, if God shall raise him up."

At the same time a committee was chosen "to procure a place to remove their minister to, and to provide him a nurse." (Mr. Brimsmead had no family of his own to provide for him, having never been married.)

"December 16, 1700, a committee was chosen to treat our Rev. pastor, with reference to the arrears yet in his account that concern the town, and to bring an account of all that is behind, from the beginning of the world to the end of November, 1699."

Mr. Swift having negatived the call, Mr. Joseph Morse was invited to settle as colleague with Mr. Brimsmead. Rev. Mr. Brimsmead died on Commencement morning, July 3d, 1701, and was buried in "the old grave yard,"* where a large unlettered stone was erected to his memory, which still remains, and is almost the only memorial that remains of "this venerable servant of Jesus Christ."† Soon after the death of Mr. Brimsmead, Mr. John Emerson, afterwards settled in Portsmouth, N. H.‡ was invited to be the minister of Marlborough, but declined the invitation.

At length, after a long controversy respecting Mr. Emerson, which was carried on with a good deal of asperity, June 1st, 1704, Mr. Robert Breck, son of Capt. John Breck, of Dorchester, graduated at Harvard College, in 1700, received an invitation to take the pastoral charge of the society, which he accepted, and was ordained, October 24th, 1704.

Rev. Mr. Breck remained pastor of the church at Marlborough

* The following inscription is placed over the remains of the first person who was buried in the old burying ground in Marlborough.

"Capt. Edward Hutchinson aged 67 years, was shot by treacherous Indians, August 2d, 1675, died, August 19th, 1675."

Capt. Edward Hutchinson was mortally wounded by the Indians, August 2d, at a place called Menimimisset, about four or five miles from Quaboag (Brookfield) to which place he had been sent with twenty horsemen by the Governor and Council, for the purpose of conciliating the Nipmucks, to many of whom he was personally known. It appears that they conducted themselves towards him with the basest treachery. The Sachems had signified their readiness to treat with the English, but it must be with Capt. Hutchinson himself. Having been conducted by a treacherous guide to the place where two or three hundred of the Indians lay in ambush, they suddenly issued from a swamp, fell upon Capt. Hutchinson, and his unsuspecting associates, shot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, among whom was Capt. H. himself. Capt. Hutchinson was a son of the celebrated Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, who occupies so conspicuous a place in the early history of New England. He was also the great grandfather of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of the Massachusetts colony and the historian of Massachusetts. Savage's Winthrop, 1. 249.

†Rev. Mr. Brimsmead's house stood in a lot of land on the west side of Ockoocangansett hill, adjoining to said hill. Tradition says, that he uniformly refused baptism to children who were born on the Sabbath.

‡Rev. John Emerson was first (1703) ordained as pastor of the church at Newcastle, New Hampshire, dismissed in 1712, and installed pastor of the South Parish in Portsmouth, March 23d, 1715, died June 21st, 1732, aged 62. Mr. Emerson was a native of Ipswich and was graduated at Harvard University, in 1689. 1. Hist. Col. X. 53.

twenty seven years, and died, January 6, 1731, in the midst of his days and usefulness, at the age of forty nine years, universally lamented.

A handsome monument was erected to his memory, near that of his predecessor, containing the following inscription in Latin, to which we subjoin, at the request of many, a translation into English.

INSCRIPTION.

Reliquiæ terrestres theologi vere venerandi Roberti Breck sub hoc tumulo conferuntur. Pars cœlestis ad coelum myriadum angelorum et ad spiritus justorum qui perfecti sunt abiit.

Ingenii penetrantis, quoad vires naturales, vir fuit amplissimæ mentis et judicii solidi, una cum animi fortitudine singulari. Quoad partes acquisitas spectat, in linguis quæ doctæ præsertim (*audiunt?*) admodum peritus; literarum politarum mensura parum communi instructus; et, quod aliis fuit difficile, ille, virtute ingenii proprii et studiis coarctis, feliciter subegit. In omnibus Theologiæ partibus versatissimus, et vere orthodoxus, Scriba ad regnum cœlorum usquequaque institutus. Officio pastorali in ecclesia Marlburiensi, ubi Spiritus Sanctus illum constituit episcopum, per XXVII annos, fideliter, sedulo, pacifice, multaque cum laude, functus est.

Doctrinæ Revelatæ, una cum cultu et regimine in Ecclesiis Nov-Anglicanis instituto, assertor habilis et strenuus. Ad consilia danda in rebus arduis, tum publicis tum privatis, integritate conspectus et prudentia instructissimus. Sincere dilexit amicos, patriam, et universam Christi ecclesiam.

Denique pietatis, omnis virtutis socialis, et quoad res terrenas moderaminis, exemplar.

In doloribus asperis ægritudinis ultimæ patientia ejus opus perfectum habuit; et, si non ovans, expectans tamen et placide discessit.

Natus Decem.is 7 mo 1682.
Denatus Januar. 6 to 1731.

Prophetæ ipsi non in seculum vivunt.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

Beneath this stone are deposited the mortal remains of the truly reverend Robert Breck. His immortal part hath ascended to heaven to join the innumerable company of angels and the spirits of the just made perfect.

He was by nature a man of acute intellect, capacious mind and solid judgment, together with singular mental resolution. As to his attainments, he was eminently skilled in the learned languages, familiar beyond the common measure with polite literature; and,

what to others was difficult, he by the powers of his mind, and close application to study, accomplished with ease.

Thoroughly versed in every department of theology, and truly orthodox in sentiment, he was a scribe in every respect instructed unto the kingdom of heaven.

The duties of the pastoral office in the church at Marlborough, over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, he discharged faithfully and assiduously, in peace and with great reputation, for twenty seven years.

He was a skilful and able asserter of the doctrines of revelation and of the worship and discipline of the New England Churches.

He was a counsellor in cases of difficulty, both public and private, of distinguished uprightness and consummate prudence.

He was a sincere lover of his friends, his country, and the whole Church of Christ.

In a word, he was a model of piety, of every social virtue, and of moderation in regard to earthly things.

In the severe pains of his last sickness, his patience had its perfect work; and his departure, if not in triumph, was full of hope and peace. Born Dec. 7th, 1682—Died Jan. 6th, 1731.

"Even the prophets do not live forever."

Rev. Robert Breck was regarded as one of the eminent ministers of his day. He preached the Election Sermon in 1728, from Deut. v. 29, which was printed. Another of his printed sermons, which is still in existence, was preached in Shrewsbury, on the 15th of June, 1720, and was the first sermon preached in that town.* His only other publications, so far as they have come to our knowledge, were two excellent sermons, addressed particularly to young persons, and which were preached to his people in 1728, on occasion of a large accession to his church of about fifty persons. The former is on the danger of religious declension, from Luke ix. 61, 62: the latter was preparatory to the observance of the Lord's Supper, from Leviticus, x. 3.

Three funeral discourses preached at Marlborough, on occasion of his death, one by Rev. John Swift of Framingham, another by Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, and the third by Rev. Israel Loring of Sudbury, were published, and are now extant.

It appears, from a note to Mr. Prentice's discourse, that during

* See the history of Shrewsbury, in the May Number of this Journal, p. 16, by Andrew H. Ward, Esq.

I am informed by Rev. Wm. B. Sprague, of West Springfield, that he has in his possession a copy of this discourse.

the sickness of Mr. Breck, October 15, 1730, a day of fasting and prayer was kept in Marlborough for his recovery; "several of the neighboring ministers being present and assisting on that solemn occasion."

A respectful and able notice of Rev. Robert Breck was given in the Weekly Journal, No. CC. for Jan. 18, 1731, which is subjoined to the discourse of Mr. Prentice; and another well written memoir was published in the Boston Weekly News Letter, No. 1408, for Jan. 21, 1731, which forms an appendix to Rev. Mr. Loring's discourse.

"His temper was grave and thoughtful, and yet cheerful at times, especially with his friends and acquaintance; and his conversation entertaining and agreeable.

"In his conduct, he was prudent and careful of his character, both as a minister and a christian; rather sparing of speech, and more inclined to hear and learn from others.

"His house was open to strangers, and his heart to his friends; and he took great delight in entertaining such, as he might any ways improve by, and treated them with good manners.

"The languishment and pains he went through before his death were very great; but God enabled him to bear the affliction with patience and submission.

"He was interred on the 12th with great respect and lamentation, and his affectionate people were at the charge of his funeral; and it is hoped they will continue their kindness to the sorrowful widow and orphans."*

Rev. Robert Breck had a son of the same name, who was graduated at Harvard University, in 1730, was ordained as minister of Springfield, Jan. 26, 1736, and died April 23, 1784, in the 71st year of his age.†

The father was married in Sept. 1707, to Miss Elizabeth Wainwright, of Haverhill, who died, June 8, 1736. They had six children, two of whom died before their father. Of those that survived him, Robert was minister of Springfield; Sarah was married to Dr. Benjamin Gott, of Marlborough; Hannah was married to Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough; Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, was married to Col. Abraham Williams, of Marlborough, and

* Rev. Mr. Breck lived on or near the same spot on which Rev. Mr. Packard's dwelling house was afterwards erected.

† See Rev. Wm. B. Sprague's Historical Discourse, delivered at West Springfield, Dec. 2, 1824, p. 78, 80.

died two years before her father, Jan. 1729. The name of the other child that survived the father was Samuel, who was a surgeon in the army during the French war. He married at Springfield, and died, 1764.

The following account of the successors of Rev. Mr. Breck, was furnished principally by Rev. Seth Alden, of Marlborough.

After an interval of nearly three years from the death of Mr. Breck, viz. Oct. 1733, Rev. Benjamin Kent was ordained as the minister of Marlborough, and on Feb. 4, 1735, was dismissed by mutual consent. After his dismission, Mr. Kent brought an action against the town for the recovery of his settlement, which the court allowed him. The town appears to have suffered much about this time from intestine divisions, which prevented the settlement of a minister for the five years succeeding the dismission of Mr. Kent.

At length, June 11, 1740, Rev. Aaron Smith received ordination, and was dismissed by reason of ill heath, April 29, 1778. After his dismission, Mr. Smith went to reside with Rev. Mr. Bridge of East Sudbury, who married his daughter, and died there.

Rev. Asa Packard, from Bridgewater, succeeded him, and was ordained, March 23, 1785, and April 10, 1806, was dismissed, in consequence of an unhappy division in the town relating to the location of a new church. This division led to an Ecclesiastical Council called by the Church, which resulted, Oct. 24, 1806, that in case the minority should obtain an act of incorporation as a distinct society, then, without breach of covenant, those members of the church who should unite themselves with such Incorporation, might become a regular and distinct church, by the name of the West Church in Marlborough.

After much opposition, such inhabitants did obtain an act of incorporation on the 23d of Feb. 1808, by the name of the second parish in Marlborough; and on the 5th of the following month, a church was duly ordained. Over this church and society, Rev. Asa Packard was installed, March 23, 1808, and remained their Pastor till May 12, 1819, when, by mutual consent, he was regularly dismissed. Mr. Packard now resides with his family in Lancaster.

Rev. Seth Alden, from Bridgewater, a graduate of Brown University, 1814, was ordained as the successor of Mr. Packard, Nov. 3, 1819, and still remains their Pastor.

Over the East Church and first parish, Rev. Sylvester F. Buck-

lin, from Rehoboth, now Seekonk, a graduate of Brown University, 1805, their present Pastor, was ordained, Nov. 2, 1808.

Besides the two Congregational Societies above mentioned, there is a society of Universalists in the town, without a stated Pastor, and a small society of Methodists. The person at present preaching with the former is Massena B. Ballou; with the latter, Jared Haskins.

The preceding sketches have been made up from materials collected from various sources. The aged fathers of this and some of the neighboring towns have been consulted as opportunity offered; and several of the descendants of the early settlers of Marlborough, have kindly furnished many valuable papers relating to the events of former days, and which have been handed down from father to son, for three or four successive generations. The writer would particularly acknowledge his obligations to Rev. Messrs. Bucklin and Alden, for the aid they have rendered him; as also to Mr. Silas Gates for the use of the copious and very valuable records in his possession, inherited through his wife (daughter of the late George Williams) from her grandfather Col. Abraham Williams, who, for many years, was the clerk of the proprietors of the English Plantation of Marlborough.

The writer has also had opportunity to consult the books of records of the proprietors of the Indian Plantation, now in the possession of Mr. John Weeks.

He has aimed at accuracy; but fears, where so much rests on mere tradition, or memory not less treacherous, that many errors besides those of the press, have become incorporated in the history. For these he craves the indulgence of his readers.

ERRATA.

Page 137, end of first paragraph—The new meeting house was erected in 1805, the old one taken down in 1809; page 141, 22d line from top, for Dochester read Dorchester; page 151, 20th line from top, for Asa Goodenow read Thomas Goodenow; page 152, 9th line, for Pond read Road; page 153, 1st line, for Marlborough read Northborough; on the same page, the 2d paragraph of the note should be in the place of the first, and for Simon read Simeon; page 154, 1st line of the note, for persons read garrison; page 165, in 4th line of 2d note, for Simeon read Simon; page 169, in 3d note, read, James and John Eager were sons, and Cutler and Martyn sons-in-law of John Eager, Jr. and grandsons of Capt. John Eager.

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HISTORY OF WEST BOYLSTON.

BY REV. C. C. P. CROSBY.

In presenting to the public a history of this town, we shall have no occasion to record any of those sanguinary scenes, which distinguish the annals of many of our neighboring towns, arising from the incursions of a savage foe.

No predatory warfare has ever stained the soil, or crimsoned the streams, with the blood of white men. Scarcely an incident, aside from the general course of human affairs, has transpired within any recollection, or is entered upon any record. So that the chief interest in the history of this town, comes from what it now is, rather than from what it has been.

Within a few years, the town has obtained an importance on account of the facilities for manufacturing purposes, little expected by its early inhabitants. And it is but a limited stretch of prophetic genius to predict, that within a few years, this town will be the theatre of extensive manufacturing and mechanical operations.

This town was settled as early as 1720, by several families from Marlborough; being then included in the grant of land called Shrewsbury. Among the first settlers were Benjamin Hinds, Isaac Temple, Edward Goodale, William Whitney, —— Bixby, and —— Holt. These inhabitants suffered much from the want of dwellings, but were seldom, if ever molested by the Indians. They toiled for their posterity, as well as for themselves, and the descendants of these families are now numerous, and respectable in town; several of them residing on their paternal possessions.

The history of this town, as a corporation, extends no farther back than 1808, being then merged in that of Boylston and Sterling, and earlier in that of Shrewsbury and Lancaster. The northern part of

this town is a portion of that tract called Shrewsbury leg; the southern part was identified with the north parish of that town, now Boylston, so called in honor of a distinguished family of the name, and incorporated in 1786. The leg was set off to the west parish in Lancaster, now Sterling, in 1768; this was done to accommodate the inhabitants with meetings, &c. as they were 10 or 12 miles distant from Shrewsbury. When this town was incorporated, a part of the first named tract, say about half, was included in the act. In 1796, the present town was erected into a precinct, and in 1808, enjoyed the benefit of an act of incorporation.

In obtaining these privileges, the inhabitants suffered much perplexity from their neighbors on every side, but by perseverance they obtained their wishes.

In 1792, sundry inhabitants of Boylston, Sterling, Holden, and Worcester, assembled to consider the expediency of forming a new town, or parish. They agreed to build a meeting house for their accommodation, next year. They then formed themselves into a society, and chose Mr. David Goodale clerk, and elected a parish committee.

The meeting house was raised in 1793, being 58 by 46 feet, with a cupola, in which a good bell was placed by Ward N. Boylston, Esq. and in eighteen months it was finished by the enterprise and public spirit of Ezra Beaman, Esq. "who proposed that for the proceeds of the pews already sold on the place, and for those remaining unsold, he would finish the house."

"This he did," says the record, "in a very decent and faithful manner, and at an expense far exceeding any compensation he can expect or hope to receive in future."

In 1794, the inhabitants applied to several clergymen in the vicinity, to meet and consult on the propriety of forming a church and hiring a preacher. Their result was against forming a church, but recommended "occasional worship in the house they had erected."

Why these gentlemen did not recommend constant worship, is difficult to imagine. The meeting house was dedicated January 1, 1795, by a Sermon from Rev. Daniel Grosvenor, of Paxton. In the same month, was sent to the General Court, a petition for an act of incorporation as a town; signed by 43 inhabitants of Boylston, 24 of Sterling, 21 of Holden, and 3 of Worcester.

This petition had a hearing in 1796, but being strenuously opposed by the representatives from each town where the petition-

ers resided, they only had leave to withdraw their petition. Soon after, they petitioned for an act to form themselves into a precinct, by the name of the second precinct in Boylston, Sterling, and Holden. This also was as strongly opposed as the other; but in June, 1796, an act was passed granting the prayer of the petitioners. Accordingly, the first meeting for the choice of precinct officers was held, August 22, 1796, under the warrant of John Sprague, Esq.

In 1796, a Congregational church was gathered, and received into fellowship by the Rev. Messrs. Sumner, Avery, and Holcomb, consisting of thirty two members. March, 1797, the precinct voted to concur with the church in calling Mr. William Nash, A. M. to settle as a minister of the gospel; and at a subsequent meeting, they voted to give him £100, lawful money, as an annual salary, and in addition, they made a subscription for his benefit of about $200. In June following, Mr. Nash returned an affirmative answer, in which he regrets the "want of an entire unanimity in the call," and on the 11th of October, he was ordained over the parish.

In 1801, the parish made a grant of $800 to Mr. Nash, on certain conditions, to aid him in building a house.

In 1804, the manufacture of Cotton was here commenced, for the first time in the county of Worcester; but through inexperience, little progress was made for several years.

In 1808, the inhabitants succeeded in obtaining an act of incorporation for a town, by the name of WEST BOYLSTON, bounded as follows, viz. on the north by Sterling, east by Boylston, south by Worcester, and west by Holden, being about four by five miles in extent, and lying near the centre of the county of Worcester.

In all these transactions, Ezra Beaman, Esq. was a very active man, and to his perseverance, influence, and wealth, the town is indebted for many of their present privileges; after its incorporation, he was successively chosen to represent the citizens in the State Legislature.

Soon after the town was incorporated, they remonstrated against the embargo laid by Mr. Jefferson, declaring it to be ruinous to the country; but their remonstrances did no good, and the embargo little injury to them.

In 1810, the Baptists first began to hold occasional meetings in town.

In 1812, an attempt was made to dismiss Mr. Nash, but it proved abortive—also a remonstrance was sent to Mr. Madison, against the war declared with Great Britain.

In 1813, the Baptists formed themselves into a distinct body, and had preaching about half the time in a school house. In 1818, the Baptist meeting house was built.

In 1815, the pastoral connexion between Mr. Nash and the parish was amicably and honorably dissolved, at his request, on account of ill health.

In 1816, Mr. Samuel Clark, of Princeton, was invited to preach as a candidate.

In 1818, Mr. Osgood, now of Sterling, preached a few Sabbaths in town.

In 1820, Mr. Shedd, of Acton, received a call to settle, which he declined; and in December, of the same year, Mr. John Boardman received a call to settle, with a salary of $500. The votes were 65 to 28; many present declined acting.*

In January, 1821, Mr. Boardman gave his answer in the affirmative, stating his intention of exchanging with all the neighboring ministers, they had been regularly inducted into office; and accordingly he was ordained, February 28.

In 1819, a Baptist church was organized of about fifty members, who had been dismissed from the church in Holden. In 1821, they had constant preaching by Rev. Nicholas Branch.

Thus far we have followed the history of the town, in the connected series of events; we shall now attend to those particulars, not connected with its general history.

Face of the Country, Soil, and Productions.—The face of the country is uneven, there being but very little champain land in town. The Nashua runs nearly through the whole town, from west to east, and the land rises on both sides, nearly as far as the boundary lines; but there is no very important elevation, except Malden hill, which is situated in the southwest part. From its summit a very pleasant and extensive prospect is afforded to the eye, fully sufficient to compensate for the trouble of a ride to the top. On the river is found some of the best interval land in the county, and in a high state of cultivation.

Nothing in the natural world can exceed the rich and luxuriant appearance of the great meadow in front of Beaman's tavern and the adjoining factory, and so extending down into the limits of Boylston.

The meanderings of the river, the canal for the factory, and the artificial pond, raised above the surface of the waving

* Several other gentlemen supplied the pulpit as candidates for a short time, whose names are not mentioned on record.

fields of grass, English grain, and yellow corn, bounded by rising woodlands, unite to show what the industry of man, and the bounty of the Creator can do, in beautifying and adorning what was an unsightly and dismal swamp, when Ephraim and Ezra Beaman commenced on this tract.

The soil is good, and fertile, without an exception, easily cultivated, and productive; well watered by streams and springs.

There are no swamps or bogs in town, and in some parts, there is a deficiency of stone to inclose farms with suitable fences. Our farmers have good pastures for neat stock, and sheep; and by cultivation, they have good hay, corn, rye, oats, potatoes, some wheat, and barley, and cider sufficient for their own use. The dairies in this town are not large, but excellent for butter.

The manufacturing establishments, give encouragement to the agriculturalist, by affording a ready market, for all his surplus produce. The farmer here, as in other portions of our county, needs only industry and economy to gather from his fields and employment, the full harvests of wealth and happiness.

Rivers.—Quinnepoxet river from Holden, and Stillwater from Sterling, enter this town on the north, and west sides, and unite their waters just below the Upper Factory, and form, what is called Nashua, which continues its course easterly, until it enters Boylston. Besides these, there are three or four brooks, in various parts of the town, which fertilize the land, and carry some light machinery during a part of the year.

Roads and Bridges.—There is no turnpike road intersecting this town; but the county road, from Worcester to Lancaster, and Groton, and also those to Princeton, Templeton, Sterling, Leominster, and Fitchburg, go through the town, from south to north. They are all post roads for the U. S. Mail, which passes every day in the week, except Sunday, opening a direct communication to Boston, New York, Providence, and Vermont.

The roads are generally in good repair, and easy for travelling, and connect with all the adjacent towns.

There are four wooden bridges for public use, which cost about five hundred dollars each. These roads and bridges are kept in repair by a tax of about four hundred dollars per annum.

Education and Schools.—There are five districts in this town, with a brick school-house in each. They contain about 315 scholars, who are taught in the winter by masters, and in the summer by females. The schools in this town, are under the inspec-

tion of an active committee, and are kept about five months in each year at the public expense. The school tax for 1826, was four hundred dollars. In addition there are private schools kept every year, in nearly all the districts.

Although this town has never been considered high in a literary view, yet a large proportion of its native citizens have received the honors of college. The list is as follows:

Thomas Moore,	1786	D. U.	Clergyman,	Settled in	Virginia.
Alexander Lovell,	1793		do.	"	Vermont.
Hosea Hildreth,	1805	H.U.	do.	"	Gloucester, Me.
Ephraim Hinds,	1805	H.U.	Attorney,	"	Harvard.
Elisha Hinds,	1805		do.		
Jonathan Bigelow,	1816		Clergyman,		
David L. Childs,	1817	H.U.	Attorney,	"	Boston.
Nathaniel Wood,	1821	H.U.	do.	"	do.
Seneca White,	1819		Clergyman,	"	Bath, Me.
Sylvanus Morse,				now in	Brown University.
John Childs,			Cadet		West Point.

BUSINESS AND TRADE.—There are in town five stores for retailing goods; two houses of entertainment, one of them having been known nearly a century, as "Beaman's," being now kept by the third generation of that name; a Post Office; four blacksmith shops; a trip hammer; scythe factory; and tan yard; cabinet maker; wheelwright; six shoemakers; and a book binder; two grist mills, one of them running three pair stones, three saw mills, clothing work, and carding machine. Baskets are manufactured to considerable extent in this town from white oak timber.

To these may be added, two practising physicians, two clergymen, and three magistrates. These last mentioned, are not crowded with professional business, as there is but little litigation in town, and no Attorney at Law. The present justices of the peace, are Joseph Hinds, Barnabas Davis, and R. B. Thomas, Esqrs.; the latter is the author of the Farmer's Almanac, which has been published thirty four years successively; 36,000 copies have been issued in a year; and 1,800,000 sold since its first publication.

MANUFACTORIES.—The water power in this town is quite extensive, but at present only partially improved, sufficient being left, to employ a large capital advantageously.

The oldest and largest establishment, was commenced in 1804, near Maj. Beaman's, and is called the Lower Factory: its operation being solely with cotton. In 1809, this property came into the hands of Mr. Robert Parkinson of England, and in 1812, was purchased of him, by the present owners, now doing business under the firm of John Slater, & Co. The establishment has been grad-

ually enlarged until, at this time, they run 2000 spindles, and make about 7000 yards of cloth, per week, of No. 16, sheetings.

The factory building is of wood, about 160 feet long, and three stories high. There are about 200 inhabitants in the village, and from 90 to 100 persons are employed by the company.

There is a chemical bleaching establishment, grist, and saw mill, with a large farm, attached to the factory. The canal to conduct the water to, and from the factory, is nearly one mile and a half in length. Should the business continue profitable, this company will soon enlarge their works, at their present establishment.

The next establishment, called the Upper Factory, is two miles above that first mentioned, and on the Stillwater river.

It was incorporated in 1813, by the name of the West Boylston Cotton and Wire Manufactory, with a capital of $140,000, a small part of which was invested.

Owing to want of experience, but little progress was ever made in the Wire business, and it was soon relinquished. The manufacture of cotton, is now the chief business of the company.

They have two large buildings for machinery, one of brick, four stories high, 68 feet long, by 34 wide, containing 1000 Spindles, and 32 power looms. The other of wood, three stories high, 40 by 26 feet, and occupied for building machinery, both cotton and woollen, under the superintendence of an experienced workman. Here are employed about fifty workmen regularly: and about 5000 yards of cloth, shirting width, are made per week.

The village consists of about a dozen families, and one hundred and twenty inhabitants, and the hum of the spindle, and noise of the shuttle, indicate a prosperous course of business.

At this place there is a plentiful supply of water, as the waters of Quinnepoxet are conveyed by a canal, into the factory pond, and far more extensive operations will be carried on, ere long, at the factory.

Last of all, is the establishment on the Nashua, called Hathorn's Mills, where there are seated together a grist and saw mill, a trip hammer, a manufactory of cotton *batting*, and yarn, a clothier's shop, and carding machine, owned by different individuals, and situated intermediate of the other factories. The grist mill here has a great run of business. About two hundred dozen scythes are made annually, and many edge tools. The manufacture of cotton, is on a small scale, by an individual proprietor.

These works are frequently deficient in the quantity of water

to move them. A new establishment for manufacturing cotton is soon to be commenced.

One thing is deserving of notice in relation to these factories, and which, for the credit of the managing agents, ought to be known: it is, the attention paid to the morals, and instruction of the children, and youth. We feel safe in affirming from our own observation, that it only requires firmness of principle, and patience in its exercise, to render a factory village as orderly, and decorous as any other.

MISCELLANEOUS.—In the south part of the town, there is a beautiful, and romantic spot, called Pleasant Valley. At some remote period, it was the location of a small pond; the area of the place is about an acre and a half, of an elliptical form, and surrounded by a range of hills, covered with trees, which open at the southwest end and stretch along in parallel ranges, for one fourth of a mile. The path to the valley is between them. The bottom of the valley is a smooth, plane surface, covered with the richest verdure. The singular, silent, and wild features of the place, render it a pleasant retreat to the lovers of nature and retirement.

The earthquake in 1755, produced a very singular phenomenon in this town. A piece of land about ten rods square, on the west bank of Quinnepoxet river, sunk about ten or twelve feet. This, at the time excited great curiosity, and was visited by hundreds, but the inundations of the river have nearly filled up the chasm.

At the Upper Factory Village, there is a Mineral Spring, which was discovered in repairing the enbankment of the pond. It runs over a bed of pyrites under the pond. The water is strongly impregnated with iron, and slightly with sulphur; no gas is emitted.

This town presents no peculiar attractions to the mineralogist. Some fine specimens of Schorl, bedded in quartz, have been found; also, some uncommonly beautiful formations of Mica; iron is occasionally met with, but in small masses.

A few traces of the aborigines of the country have been discovered. In repairing the road below the lower factory, in 1825, a skeleton, brass kettle and spoon, were discovered; the skeleton was supposed to be that of an Indian Squaw. A few stone chissels and arrows have been found in our fields.

The first settlers built a stockade fort, of square logs, for defence, on the land now owned by Mr. John Temple. This fort stood until within about forty years, the only intimations of any hostilities against it were a few bullets lodged in the timbers.

There is a Social Library in town, of about two hundred select volumes, and owned in shares. Another Society own the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. There are also two associations for acquiring useful knowledge, and discussing questions.

These are only the incipient operations of institutions, which must continue to exert a favorable influence upon the interests of literature and science.

These institutions are supported by a class of people who have not before had the treasures of science opened to their minds, nor would they now, but for such combined exertions.

Among other strange things, there is a singular fraternity of men, who have lived in five incorporated towns, and two parishes, and yet, have never resided off the farms where they were born. This is explained by the tract called the leg being so often transfered to other towns.

There is not less than one hundred feet of water fall in this town, and two or three good sites for manufacturing establishments. As this will eventually be a manufacturing town to a large extent, it is not improbable that the Blackstone or Massachusetts Canal will be extended to the place.

INHABITANTS.—The number of inhabitants at the last census, was 987, but now they have increased to about 1100; there being 178 families, with 260 rateable polls. The increase of population in this town is about 35 net gain, per annum. In 1821, there were 210 polls, increase of 50 in five years.

The Manufacturing interests, will undoubtedly give this town a great increase of population.

There is a general equality among them, as none can boast of the distinctions, which great wealth, family, or honors, confer on the few who are the favorites of fortune. Industry and economy are prominent traits in the character of our citizens; Agriculture, or Manufactures, claim their chief attention. They live easily and comfortably, unless an evil spirit, residing in taverns, or grogshops, happens to draw them away from home, to the sorrow, and distress of their families.

List of Taxes.—For Schools, $400 per annum.—Highways, $400: Support of the poor, $400 on an average.—Incidental expences, $200.—Support of the Gospel, $1000 per annum. Total of necessary taxes, $2400.

Deaths.—1798—8: 1800—10: 1810—10: 1820—18: 1825—16.

Religious.—The people in this town, are of various denominations, viz. Congregationalists, both Orthodox, and Unitarians, Baptists, Universalists, a few Methodists, and one family of Quakers.

The Congregationalists were the first, and are now, the most numerous sect in this town, there being about 160 rateable polls in the parish. They have a Meeting House built thirty years since, before the parish was set off. It is situated near the centre of the town, and has a pleasant location, with a beautiful level common, and good sheds in the rear. The church, and parish, were in a harmonious state, as long as Mr. Nash remained their pastor; since his dismission, they have been divided, and occasionally some controversies have arisen between the parties, chiefly respecting their minister.*

After Mr. Nash resigned the pastoral office, several gentlemen were invited to supply the pulpit, but none could be found who had the happiness to unite all parties.

In 1820, the present pastor, Rev. John Boardman, A. M. of Dartmouth College, was settled. In this measure the Unitarians and Universalists, never concurred, and afterwards a very respectable minority seceded from the parish; alledging that their feelings had not been sufficiently regarded, in a transaction of such importance.

When the town was incorporated, parochial powers were not included in the act, (although, until this time they had been exercised;) those who declined Mr. Boardman's ministry, refused to pay a tax for the support of the gospel, which they considered illegal. This induced the friends of Mr. Boardman to petition the Legislature to pass an act or resolution, empowering them to revive the old precinct formed in 1796, and re-organize it in such a manner as to enable them, as a parish, to support a Minister. Notwithstanding a remonstrance was presented against the petition, the legislature in 1823, authorized the re-organization of the ancient precinct. Since this, they have gone on their own way, rejoicing under the ministry of their own selection. They have a fund of about $2000 for the support of Mr. Boardman. The church when gathered consisted of 32 members; since then 135 have been added to it; and the total number now, is about 90.

The Baptists, follow next in order, having first held their meetings in 1810, being then members of the church in Holden. In 1812,

* Rev. Mr. Nash still resides in town, in easy circumstances. Mr. Nash removed from Williamsburg, Mass. and was graduated from Yale College, in 1791.

they were organized as a society by law, and had preaching part of the time, by Elders Goddard, and Marshall. In 1815, the members of Holden church, residing in this town were set off, as a branch, and in 1819, were recognized as a distinct church, which consisted of about 50 members. The preceding year, they had erected a meeting house, 44 by 36 ft. on a piece of land given them by Robert B. Thomas, Esq. This house is now finished, and stands about two miles north of the centre of the town at the Upper Factory, and is exclusively, the property of the church, who rent the pews annually, towards the support of their pastor.

The peace and harmony of this church and society, have never been disturbed since its organization. The increase has been gradual, and there are now, 80 rateable polls, belonging to the society, residing in this town, and the adjacent parts of Sterling and Holden. Various preachers were employed for a short time, until the church was organized. Since then, the Rev. Nicholas Branch, preached about three years; but was never pastor. After he removed, the church in 1823, chose Rev. Alling Hough, A. M. of Brown University, their pastor; he accepted the call, and continued in office about eighteen months; when he was called away by death, from his labors on earth. "He lived respected, and beloved by his people," and died at the age of 32.

In December 1824, the church invited their present pastor, Charles C. P. Crosby, to preach as a candidate, and March following, the church and society, gave him a unanimous call to settle, with a salary of $270 per ann. and four Sabbaths for his own benefit. The call being accepted, he was ordained, April 13, 1825.

On the settlement of Mr. Crosby, the society immediately began to build a parsonage, for the convenience of their minister, to cost them when finished, about $1500. Since the institution of the church 70 have been baptised, 34 received by letter, and the church now contains 134 members.

There is no Unitarian or Universalist Society in town; but there have been persons of those persuasions for many years. They did not dissent from the old parish, until 1823, when a legal tax for the support of Mr. Boardman was about to be laid on them; about thirty joined the Restoration Society, in Shrewsbury, and about fifteen joined Dr. Bancroft's Society in Worcester, and Mr. Osgood's in Sterling. The Restoration people have preaching about once in two months, in the centre school house.

PLEASANT VALLEY. NOTE.

The following notice of the beautiful little spot mentioned in the preceding memoir, with the accompanying lines, is copied from the American (Boston) Traveller of July 14.

On leaving the road you enter a grove of oaks and maples, between two declivities, and continuing down this avenue that winds along through the shrub oaks, at once opens to the view a plain of three or four acres of an oval form, surrounded on every side, excepting only the narrow pass by which you enter, by high and almost perpendicular banks, whose sides are covered by the birch and the shrub oak and whose tops are surmounted by trees of the largest size. The plain is more level and smooth than art could make it, no remains of ancient trees, no stone, not even a stray branch of the neighboring grove mar the scene. A fine short grass covers the whole area and presents to the eye an enchanting fairy green.—The stillness of death reigns, undisturbed by the noise of the world. It is a place for contemplation, where man can turn his thoughts home to his own breast and meditate on the follies of the world, or where he can upturn them to Him, the supreme architect of nature.

Sweet vale of West Boylston! how calm a retreat,
From the sorrows and cares of this cold world of woe;
With thy thick covered banks, where the wild flowers meet,
And thy serpentine paths where the evergreens grow.

Oh here, the war trumpet shall never be heard,
Here, the banners of foemen shall ne'er be unfurl'd;
At the tramp of the war horse thy paths shall be barred,
And Peace with her wand bid him back to the world.

Thy carpet so green, 'neath the blue sky outspread,
Shall never be soiled by the foot of dishonor—
Here, the children of nature by truth shall be led,
And fear not th' intrusion of care or of sorrow.

Be this the retreat of the votaries of Love,
For the friends of the heart—be it Piety's fane
Where their vows and their prayers shall ascend—and above
Shall be heard, and Heaven grant they be heard not in vain.

Oh here, have I roved with the friend of my heart,
When the last rays of sunshine were gilding the spot—
And the thoughts of that hour, they shall never depart,
And the friends that were there shall ne'er be forgot.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

Continued from Vol. I. page 197.

THE County having been incorporated, the officers were initiated at the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and Inferior Court of Common Pleas, as it was then styled, first held at Worcester, August 10, 1731, when a Sermon was preached before them, by Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, from II. Chronicles. xix. 6th and 7th verses. "And said to the Judges, take heed what you do: For ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore, now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it: For there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts."—This sermon was printed.*

REGISTER OF CIVIL OFFICERS IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

From			to
1731	Hon. *John Chandler*, of Woodstock,	died	1743
1731	*Joseph Wilder*, of Lancaster,	died	1757
1731	William Ward, of Southborough,		1745
1731	William Jennison, of Worcester,	died	1743
1743	Joseph Dwight, of Brookfield,		1750
1743	Samuel Willard, of Lancaster,		1753
1745	Nahum Ward, of Shrewsbury,		1762
1750	Edward Hartwell, of Lunenburg,		1762
1753	Jonas Rice, of Worcester,		1753
1754	*John Chandler*, of Worcester,		1762
1756	Thomas Steel, of Leicester,		1775
1757	*Timothy Ruggles*, of Hardwick,		1775
1762	Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster,	died	1773
1762	*Artemas Ward*, of Shrewsbury,	resigned	1798
1775	Jedediah Foster, of Brookfield,		1776
	Moses Gill, of Princeton,		1794
	Samuel Baker, of Berlin,	died	1795
1776	Joseph Dorr, of Ward,	resigned	1801
1794	Michael Gill, Esq. of Princeton,	resigned	1798
1795	*Elijah Brigham, of Westborough,	died	1816
1799	*John Sprague*, of Lancaster,	died	1800
1799	**Dwight Foster*, of Brookfield,	died	1823

Those in Italics held the office of Chief Justice.

*On the authority of Whitney, 14. The pamphlet we have not been able to find, upon inquiry.

1801	*Benjamin Heywood, of Worcester,	died 1817
1811	Hon. Edward Bangs, of Worcester, appointed a Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas,	died 1818
1818	Hon. Solo. Strong, of Leominster, was selected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Bangs, and was, 1821, re-appointed under the present organization of that Court, by *Stat.* 1820, *ch.* 79.	

Hon. Michael Gill, of Westminster, and Hon. Judge Strong, are the only survivers of this list.

Biographical notices of all the other Judges will be found in the histories of their respective towns.

Clerks of the Judicial Courts of the Common Pleas.

1731	Hon. John Chandler, Jr.	1754
1751	Hon. Timothy Paine,	1774
1775	Hon. Levi Lincoln,	1776
1776	Hon. Joseph Allen,	1810
1810	Hon. William Stedman,	1811
1811	Estes Howe, Esq.	1812
1812	Hon. William Stedman,	1816
1816	Hon. Francis Blake,	1817
1817	Hon. Abijah Bigelow,	

The same gentlemen were Clerks of the Court of Sessions, excepting Samuel Flagg, Jr. who was appointed in 1808, and held the office one year, when Enoch Flagg was appointed, who officiated for one term only, when the powers of the Court were transferred to the Common Pleas. The Clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court resided in Boston, until 1797, when it was provided that the Clerks of that Court should be the same with those of the Common Pleas, excepting in some of the small counties.

Sheriffs of the County.

1731	Daniel Gookin, of Worcester,	died 1743
1743	Benjamin Flagg, of Worcester,	died 1751
1751	John Chandler, jr. of Worcester,	1762
1762	Gardner Chandler, of Worcester,	1775
1775	Simeon Dwight, of Western,	died 1778

* These filled the Bench until the Court was superceded by the new organization of the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas, by Stat. 1811, ch. 33.

1778	William Greenleaf,* of Lancaster,	1788
1788	John Sprague, of Lancaster,	1792
1792	Dwight Foster, of Brookfield,	1793
1793	William Caldwell, of Rutland,	1805
1805	Thomas W. Ward, of Shrewsbury,	1811
1811	Moses White, Esq. of Rutland,	1812
1812	Thomas W. Ward, Esq. of Shrewsbury,	1824
1824	Calvin Willard, Esq. of Fitchburg.	

Judges of Probate.

1731	Hon. John Chandler, of Woodstock, died	1743
1739	Hon. Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster,	1757
1757	Hon. John Chandler, of Worcester,	1762
1762	Hon. John Chandler, of Worcester,	1774
1775	Hon. Jedediah Foster, of Brookfield,	1776
1776	Hon. Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury,	1776
1776	Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester,	1782
1782	Hon. Joseph Dorr, of Ward, resigned	1800
1801	Hon. Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester.	

Registers of Probate.

1731	John Chandler, Jr.	1757
1757	Timothy Paine,	1766
1766	Clark Chandler,	1774
1775	Joseph Wheeler, Esq.	1793
1793	Theophilus Wheeler, Esq.	

At the first Probate Court, held on July 12, A. D. 1731, it was ordered, that Courts of Probate be held at Worcester, in the month of September, annually, at the times the Superior Court is held, also the first Tuesdays in November and February, and the weeks following the second Tuesdays of May and August, and the weeks following, and at such other times as occasion may require, either at Worcester or Woodstock, in said County.

Registers of Deeds.

1731	John Chandler, Jr. Esq.	1762
1762	Timothy Paine, Esq.	1777
1777	Nathan Baldwin, Esq.	1784
1784	Daniel Clapp, Esq.	1816
1816	Oliver Fiske, Esq.	1821
1821	Artemas Ward, Esq.	

* Removed by impeachment of the H. of R. before the Senate for malfeasance in his office; and was the first officer of this Government held amenable to that august tribunal.

County Treasurers.

1731	Jona. Houghton, of Lancaster,	1733
1733	Benjamin Flagg, Jr. of Worcester,	1745
1745	Daniel Heywood,	1754
1754	Gardner Chandler,	1762
1762	John Chandler,	1775
1777	Nathan Perry,	1790
1790	Samuel Allen,	

Justices of the Court of Sessions.

1807. Sept. Pliny Merrick,
Moses White,
Abraham Lincoln,
John Spurr,
Jonathan Davis.

These Justices continued in office until April 20, 1809, when the powers of the Court were transferred to Common Pleas.

1811. Sept. Jonathan Davis,
Joseph Adams,
Edmund Cushing,
John Spurr, to 1812.
Timothy Whiting.

1812. Isaiah Thomas.

1814. Oliver Crosby.

Court of Common Pleas with two Justices, to wit:

1814. Aug. Benjamin Kimball,
Oliver Crosby, to 1818
1819. Aaron Tufts.

1819. Sept. The Court was organized in its present form, and the following Justices appointed.

Hon. Seth Hastings,
Benjamin Kimball,
Hon. Aaron Tufts.

The following persons have been elected Senators for this County, since the adoption of the Constitution.

1780	Moses Gill of Princeton,	1787
"	Samuel Baker, of Berlin,	1787
"	Joseph Dorr, of Ward,	1783
"	Israel Nichols, of Leominster,	1787
"	Seth Washburn, of Leicester,	1781
1781	Jonathan Warner, of Hardwick,	1785
1784	Seth Washburn, again	1788
1785	John Sprague, of Lancaster,	1786
1786	Abel Wilder, of Winchendon,	died 1792
1787	Amos Singletary, of Sutton,	1791
"	John Fessenden, of Rutland,	1791
"	Joseph Stone, of Harvard,	1788

1788	Hon. Samuel Baker, again,	1788
"	Jonathan Grout, of Petersham,	1789
1789	Moses Gill, again,	1794
"	Peter Penniman, of Mendon,	1790
1790	Samuel Baker, again,	1795
1791	Jonathan Warner, again,	1797
"	Timothy Newell, of Sturbridge,	1794
1792	Josiah Stearns, of Lunenburg,	1802
1794	Daniel Bigelow, of Petersham,	1798
"	Salem Town, of Charlton,	1810
1795	Benjamin Read, of Mendon,	1796
1796	Elijah Brigham, of Westborough,	1797
1797	Levi Lincoln, of Worcester,	1798
"	Bezaleel Taft, of Uxbridge,	1803
1798	Elijah Brigham, again,	1811
	Thomas Hale, of Brookfield,	1810
1802	Daniel Bigelow, again, died	1807
1807	Jonas Kendall, of Leominster,	1812
1808	*Pliny Merrick, of Brookfield,	1808
1810	Seth Hastings, of Mendon,	1812
"	Francis Blake, of Worcester,	1812
1811	Silas Holman, of Bolton,	1817
1812	Solomon Strong, of Westminster,	1814
"	John Spurr, of Charlton,	1813
"	Levi Lincoln, Jr. of Worcester,	1813
1813	Bezaleel Taft, of Uxbridge,	1814
	Francis Blake, again,	1815
1814	Benjamin Adams, of Uxbridge,	1816
"	Moses Smith, of Leicester,	1816
1815	Oliver Crosby, of Brookfield, died	1818
1816	†Jonas Sibley, of Sutton,	1816
1816	Daniel Waldo, of Worcester,	1819
"	Thomas H. Blood, of Sterling,	1818
1817	James Humphreys, of Athol,	1819
1818	Stephen P. Gardner, of Bolton,	1821
1819	Aaron Tufts, of Dudley,	1825
"	Samuel Eastman, of Hardwick,	1821

* Appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Mr. Bigelow.

† Appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Mr. Crosby.

1819	Hon. Lewis Bigelow, of Petersham,	1821
1821	Salem Towne, Jr. of Charlton,	1823
"	John Shepley, of Fitchburg,	1822
"	Nathaniel Jones, of Barre,	1824
1822	Stephen P. Gardner, again,	1825
1823	Benjamin Adams, again,	1825
"	Nathaniel P. Denny, of Leicester,	1825
1824	Joseph G. Kendall, of Leominster,	
1825	William Crawford, Jr. of Oakham,	
"	Bezaleel Taft, Jr. of Uxbridge,	
"	William Eaton, of Worcester,	1826
"	Nathaniel Houghton, of Barre,	
1826	Jonas Sibley, of Sutton.	

Counsellors.

One Member of the Executive Council has been taken from this County every year since the organization of the present form of Government.

1780	Hon. Moses Gill, of Princeton,	1787
1787	Peter Penniman, Mendon,	1788
1788	Artemas Ward, Shrewsbury,	1789
1789	Moses Gill, again,	1794
1794	Samuel Baker, Berlin,	1795
1795	Jonathan Warner, Hardwick,	1797
1797	Josiah Stearns, Lunenburg,	1799
1799	Elijah Brigham, Westborough,	1801
1801	Daniel Bigelow, Petersham,	1802
1802	Salem Towne, Charlton,	1805
1805	Bezaleel Taft, Uxbridge,	1807
1807	Timothy Newell, Sturbridge,	1808
1808	Oliver Fiske, Worcester,	1810
1810	Levi Lincoln, Worcester,	1812
1812	Oliver Fiske, again,	1815
1815	Joseph Allen, Worcester,	1818
1818	Dwight Foster, Brookfield,	1819
1819	Silas Holman, Bolton,	1822
1822	Jonas Kendall, Leominster,	1823
1823	Abraham Lincoln, Worcester,	1825
1825	Edmund Cushing, Lunenburg.	

Members elected to the Congress of the United States.

1781 Hon. Levi Lincoln, chosen under the Confederation.
1789 1st Congress. Hon. Jonathan Grout, of Petersham,
1791 2d Hon. Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury,
1793 Hon. Dwight Foster, of Brookfield, to 1801,
1801 7th Hon. Levi Lincoln,* of Worcester,
Hon. Seth Hastings, of Mendon,
1803 8th Hon. Seth Hastings, of Mendon,
Hon. William Stedman, of Lancaster,
1805 9th Hon. Seth Hastings, Hon. Wm. Stedman,
1807 10th Hon. Jabez Upham, of Brookfield,
Hon. William Stedman, of Lancaster,
1809 11th Hon. Jabez Upham† and Hon. Wm. Stedman,‡
Hon. Joseph Allen, of Worcester.
Hon. Abijah Bigelow, of Leominster,
1811 12th Hon. Elijah Brigham, of Westborough,
Hon. Abijah Bigelow, of Leominster,
1813 13th Hon. Elijah Brigham, Hon. Abijah Bigelow,
1815 14th Hon. Elijah Brigham, of Westborough,
Hon. Solomon Strong, of Leominster,
Hon. Benjamin Adams§ of Uxbridge,
1817 15th Hon. Solomon Strong and Hon. Benj. Adams,
Hon. Jonas Kendall|| of Leominster,
1819 16th Hon. Jonas Kendall, Hon. Benjamin Adams,
1821 17th Hon. Jonathan Russell, of Mendon,
Hon. Lewis Bigelow, of Petersham,
1823 18th Hon. Jonas Sibley, of Sutton,
Hon. John Locke, of Ashby,¶
1825 19th Hon. John Davis, of Worcester, Hon. John Locke.

*Hon. Judge Lincoln took his seat as member of Congress, March 4, 1801, and the next day was appointed by the President Attorney General of the United States. Hon. Mr. Hastings was elected to supply the vacancy.

† Hon. Mr. U. resigned, Sept. 18, and Hon. Mr. Allen filled his seat.

‡ Appointed Clerk of the Courts, Sept. 1810, and Hon. Mr. Bigelow was elected to Congress in his place.

§ Hon. Mr. Brigham died at Washington, Feb. 22, 1816, (see page 172,) and Hon. Mr. A. was elected to supply the office.

|| Hon. Mr. Strong was appointed to fill the vacancy in the C. C. Pleas occasioned by the death of Judge Bangs, and Hon. Mr. K. was elected in his room.

¶ The districts for the choice of Representatives to Congress, are new arranged every ten years. Since the year 1802, this County has been divided into two districts, with the addition of a few towns from the County of Middlesex. See Vol. 1. page 110. Previous to 1802, the modes of forming these districts were various.

MEMORANDA. PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

1732. Feb. 1. The first prison ordered to be built 41 feet by 18, and 8 feet stud. The gaol part to be 18 feet square, of white oak, studded with timber of 5 inches by 4, and placed within five inches of each other, the joists to be of the same bigness, and placed at the same distance, and that it be covered with plank, spiked within and without. A dungeon beneath was likewise directed.

1732. Nov. The Court House ordered to be built 36 by 26 feet, with 13 feet posts. To pay for these public buildings, and other charges incident to the County, a tax was ordered upon the several towns as follows:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Lancaster,	62	16	8	Southborough,	17	6	0
Mendon,	36	0	0	Shrewsbury,	14	14	0
Woodstock,	32	0	0	Oxford,	14	4	0
Brookfield,	27	1	8	Leicester,	13	19	4
Sutton,	24	10	0	Uxbridge,	12	0	8
Worcester,	22	15	4	Rutland,	7	16	0
Westborough,	18	2	0	Lunenburg,	7	16	0

£311 1s. 4d.

RETURN OF THE MILITIA OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, NOV. 1825.

Brigade	No. of Regiments.	No. of Towns	Principal Towns.	Infantry	Light Infantry	Riflemen	Grenadiers	Cavalry	Artillery	Whole No. of Comp'n's	Total of Infantry
1	1	4	Leicester	6	1	0	0	0	0	7	439
	2	5	Mendon	6	4	0	0	1	1	12	723
	3	6	Brookfield	7	1	1	1	1	0	11	729
	4	4	Charlton	4	2	3	0	1	1	11	579
	5	4	Sutton	5	3	0	0	0	0	8	551
	6	3	Worcester	4	1	1	1	1	1	9	569
		28		32	12	5	2	4	3	58	3590
							Regiment of Cavalry,				206
							Battalion of Artillery,				148
							Band and Officers,				35
											3,979
2	1	6	Lancaster	6	4	2	0	1	1	14	820
	2	6	Shrewsbury	6	2	2	2	1	0	12	733
	3	5	Barre	7	2	1	1	1	1	13	604
	4	5	Fitchburg	6	3	1	0	1	1	12	611
	5	6	Templeton	7	1	1	1	1	0	11	662
		28		32	12	7	4	5	3	62	3430
							Regiment of Cavalry,				211
							Battalion of Artillery,				166
							Band and Officers,				13
											3824
							Total Military Strength of 6th Division,				7,803

HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN STERLING,

Formerly the West Parish in Lancaster.

This Church was organized Dec. 19, 1744, at the time of the ordination of the Rev. John Mellen, their first pastor. The following Covenant was drawn up, and subscribed or assented to by eighteen of the brethren, who at that time were members of the old Church in Lancaster.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the west precinct in Lancaster, in New England, knowing we are very prone to offend and provoke the most High God, both in heart and life, through the prevalence of sin that dwelleth in us, and manifold temptations from without us, for which we desire to be humble before Him from day to day; do, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with dependence upon the gracious assistance of his spirit, solemnly enter into covenant with God, and one another according to God, as follows:"

"1. That having taken and chose the Lord Jehovah to be our God, we will fear him, cleave to him, and love and serve him in truth, with all our hearts, giving up ourselves unto him to be his people in all things, to be at his sovereign disposal and direction; that we may have and hold communion with him as members of Christ's mystical body, according to his revealed will, unto our lives end."

"2. We also bind ourselves to bring up our children and servants in the knowledge and fear of God, by holy instructions, according to our best ability; and in special by the use of orthodox catechisms, endeavoring that the true religion may be maintained in our families while we live; yea, and among such as shall live when we are dead and gone."

"3. We also bind ourselves to keep close to the truth of Christ, endeavoring with holy affection towards it in our hearts, to defend it against all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto, which if we may do, we resolve to use the holy Scriptures as our platform, whereby to discern the mind of Christ, and not the new found inventions of men."

"4. We also engage ourselves to have a careful inspection over our own hearts, viz. so as to endeavor by the virtue of the death of Christ, the mortification of all our worldly frames and sinful dispositions, our corrupt passions and disorderly affections, whereby we may be withdrawn from the living God."

"5. We also oblige ourselves in the faithful improvement of our ability and opportunity to worship God, according to all the particular instructions of Christ, for his church, under gospel administrations, as to give reverend attentions to the word of God, to pray unto him, to sing his praises, and hold communion with each other in the use of both the seals of the new covenant, baptism and the supper of the Lord."

"6. We likewise promise that we will peaceably submit to the holy discipline appointed by Christ, in his church, for offenders, (obeying according to the will of God,) them that have the rule over us in the Lord."

"7. We also bind ourselves to live in love, one with another, endeavoring our mutual edification, visiting, exhorting, comforting, as occasion serveth, and warning any brother or sister that walks disorderly, not divulging private offences irregularly, but heedfully following the several precepts laid down by Christ for church dealing, Math. xviii. 15, 16, 17, willingly forgiving any that manifest unto a judgment of charity, that they truly repent of their miscarriages."

"Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect, in every good work, to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever—Amen."

This covenant was subscribed by the pastor, who had been called to his office by the Parish alone, without the intervention of the Church. In the subsequent controversy with the Pastor, this circumstance was supposed to vest greater privileges than ordinary in the lay Corporation. The Church was organized Dec. 19, 1744, and the Pastor ordained on the same day, by a Council of neighboring Churches, and no objection was made to this method of calling the minister.

Dec. 21. Voted, that Members be admitted with consent of the Brethren, upon giving satisfaction to the Pastor, and publicly owning the covenant, without a written profession or relation.

1745. May 5. The Lord's Supper was administered for the first time. Jonathan Osgood was chosen deacon.

Forty five members were admitted before July 7, 1745.

The affairs of the Church and the Parish advanced prosperously for about twenty years.*

A few years previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary war, the people of most of the towns in this vicinity were involved in a most violent and malignant controversy with their ministers. This discussion, connected with many local circumstances, was various in its nature in the respective towns, and as it was often accompanied by the most envenomed attacks upon private character, and served often to divide families and neighborhoods, most of its details have wisely been suffered to pass into oblivion. So careful were the past generation to veil it from posterity, and to bury it in the graves of the actors, that not only did they neglect to publish its history, but even the public records concerning it, in most of the towns have been either destroyed or secreted. In fact, in some instances, the pages that recorded these transactions have been so mutilated as to throw but a glimmering light upon the subject. As to most of those details, judging from scanty traditions, this is no subject of regret. But we believe, that this controversy, apart from its personalities, marks a distinct era in the progress of religious freedom, and was followed by consequences, that have greatly advanced the happiness of the succeeding generations. Our fathers fled to this land for the rights of conscience, and as the freedom of our civil institutions has ever followed in the train of religious liberty, the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts will be found the most instructive part of our annals. This part of our history has never been fully delineated by any one; it was commenced by a writer, learned, enlightened, and impartial, but death suspended his career, in the midst of his unfinished labors.† After the first generation had passed away, all the great and distinguished divines from 1660 to 1730, present to us a lamentable account of the awful declension of religion, and the woeful apostacy of the New England Churches.‡ Soon after the latter period, a revival or awakening commenced in most of the

* In 1757, there were 87 male members, who had been admitted, 8 had died, 13 dismissed, and 76 remained, together with 64 females. In 1764, there were 109 males, and 112 females. As there were then but 151 families in the place, there were probably but few of them entirely excluded from the privileges of the communion.

† The late lamented John Eliot, D. D. of Boston. See 1 Hist. Col. vii. 262, and passim.

‡ See the Election Sermons of that period. The writings of the Mather and Prince's Christian History.

Churches, which was hailed by many of the Clergy, as a special interposition in behalf of a benighted land. Various means were adopted to keep alive the *new light* that was shed upon this part of the Christian world. Many of the Boston clergy engaged most earnestly in this interesting work; among others, the faithful annalist, the Rev. Mr. Prince, of the old South Church, in Boston, who has left upon record many important documents respecting these events.* The learned Doctors Sewall, Colman, W. Cooper, and others, lent their aid. The excitement was greatly increased by the arrival of the famous Whitfield, Tennant, and others, from England, distinguished in their day as burning and shining lights. As might be expected, the work met with a vigorous opposition from others. At the head of this class were Drs. Chauncey, S. Mather, Byles, Messrs. Welsted, Gray, Hooper, and others.

The question whether this work was induced by the supernatural agency of the Holy Spirit of God, or whether it was the effect of enthusiasm, was deeply agitated by the learned Theologians of the day. Parties were thus introduced into the New England Churches, which, assuming various forms, have ever since continued to agitate the community. How far the inhabitants of this County engaged in the work, does not fully appear. Doctor Hall, of Sutton, and Mr. Seecomb, of Harvard, two distinguished Clergymen of their time, have furnished very animated accounts of the progress of the revivals in those places, but they have added but little relating to the neighboring Churches. The Clergy from all parts of New England were earnestly called upon to give their *attestation*, that the work was something more than could be produced by ordinary means. They assembled at Boston the day following the Commencement, in 1743. The names of but six or seven of the ministers of this County appear, and three of those subscribe with some limitations. Tradition informs us, that from the scattered situation of the settlers of these new plantations, it was apprehended that the Churches would be broken up, and the towns divided, by affording too much encouragement to itinerant preachers of various denominations. These fears were unhappily realised in many places. While some hailed these events as the prelude to the universal triumph of the Church over all opposition; others of a less ardent temperament predicted that after the unnatural excitement

* See Christian History for 1743 and 1744, a periodical work, printed weekly for this special purpose. The numbers were afterwards collected in two octavo volumes.

had passed away, it would be succeeded by a period of indifference and coldness in the great concerns of religion. Before the middle of that century, we find many Pastors deeply lamenting the withdrawing of the good influences, and complaining that many relapses had taken place.

In a few years, the great controversy that has so long shaken the Church, between the Arminians and Calvinists, succeeded. The laity had been exclusively educated in the Schools of the Genevan reformer, but many of the Clergy, having been led to examine more deeply into this metaphysical disputation, embraced the opposite doctrines with the Professor of Leyden.

Most of the Churches in this vicinity, were at that time supplied by Clergymen, distinguished among their brethren, for strength of intellect, depth of research, and energy of character. Such were Mr. Harrington of Lancaster, Mr. Adams of Lunenburg, Mr. Rogers of Leominster, Mr. Goss of Bolton, Mr. Fuller of Princeton, Mr. Morse of Boylston, and particularly Mr. Mellen of Sterling, who, in his time, probably stood at the head of the Clergy of the county. The two first of these fathers, by uniting the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove, had so permanently won the affections of their people, that they alone were enabled to maintain their offices. The other five were compelled to sacrifice their livings to the spirit of the times.

We learn from tradition that these ministers in a greater or less degree had sensibly departed from the standard of faith, that had been generally received in the New England Churches, and had extended their speculations in such manner, as to give great offence to some, who had not pursued the same course of reasoning. Many of their hearers at first became alarmed at these deviations from the principles of their fathers. As early as 1757, troubles began at Leominster with Rev. John Rogers, a man of learning and of great intrepidity of character, qualified by many circumstances, as well as by his name, to be the first suffering confessor. He was charged with preaching doctrines not contained in the Westminster confession of faith, doctrines that were subversive of the ancient faith professed by that Church, and which many of his hearers could not adopt. In a council of fifteen churches, including, it is said, most of his associates above named, he was arraigned and condemned. Three months were allowed him to retract his errors, which, refusing to do, he was deposed from his office. This dismission introduced a spirit of inquiry that

led to interesting consequences. The brethren of Mr. R. were strictly watched, and every unguarded expression in their sermons was carefully noted against them. Mr. Mellen delivered an eloquent series of discourses in the year 1756, addressed to Parents, children, and youth, which contained sentiments highly obnoxious to many of his brethren in the ministry. These were published, and were extremely well received by his people. After the condemnation of Mr. Rogers, these sentiments were never urged in public but with much caution and a greater regard to the spirit of the age. In the unguarded hours of social conversation, Mr. M. was less reserved, and it was well understood by his parish that he rejected many of the articles of popular faith. Nor were his people disaffected with him on this account, but rather for publicly co-operating in the censure of those doctrines, which it was supposed he embraced as the truth of the Gospel.* It was now understood by some

* These facts are well authenticated by indisputable tradition, as well as from the occasional publications of the day. The few survivors of those memorable years, have related to us many interesting anecdotes illustrative of the temper of the times, as well as of the characters of the principal actors. We forbear a narration of them, lest it should awaken animosities that ought long since to be buried in oblivion.

Our principal informant of the transactions of this olden time, was the Widow Elizabeth Kendall, recently deceased, a venerable matron of intelligence, of virtue, and of exalted piety. She died April 30, 1825, at the advanced age of 86 years. Our respect for the memory of this interesting woman, would not permit us to close the history of this town, without a brief notice of one, in whose sympathies, in sorrow and in joy, we have so often participated.

She was born in Lexington, in the year 1740, of a respectable family, by the name of Mason. Being eminently qualified as an instructress of youth, she came to this place in early life to teach a school. Here she remained the residue of her days, having been united in marriage at the age of twenty five to Maj. James Kendall, a respectable citizen of Sterling, whom she survived sixteen years.

Possessing by nature a vigorous mind, highly improved by extensive reading, and an accurate knowledge of character, her judgment was correct and her perceptions were rapid and discriminating. Her imagination was lively, but it was held in control by prudence and reason. She was a communicant of the Church of Christ for nearly 70 years, and the principles of christianity directed her actions and regulated her powerful sensibilities. Amid the trials of varying life, she bore prosperity with moderation, and adversity without repining. She was cheerful without levity, pious without bigotry, and grave without repulsive austerity. Her conversation was peculiarly interesting and instructive to the young, and even the aged bowed to her with reverential deference and respect. She was a safe counsellor, a prudent guide, and a valued friend. Exemplary in all her moral and social relations, her neighbors venerate her memory and her children call her blessed. In her last illness she was patient and resigned to the will of her Creator. Supported by that faith, she had so long professed, in the full exercise of her mental powers, her exit was tranquil and full of hope. Her posterity are not numerous. She left two sons, one is a physician at Sterling, and the other is the eminent theologian who presides over the ancient Church at Plymouth. Of her two daughters, the eldest married Capt. John Porter of Sterling, and the other, Rev. Mr. Mason of Northfield, who died in early life.

of the most intelligent of the parish, that their minister was verging towards doctrines that he had publicly disclaimed. In the year 1765, he published a volume of Sermons upon the doctrines of Christianity. They contain a learned system of scholastic theology, maintaining a middle course between the two opposite schemes of Calvin and Arminius. Upon some of the controverted points it is not easy to ascertain, which side his speculations favor the most. The volume is highly creditable to his memory as a scholar and a theologian, and when published was considered an acquisition to the literature of the country. When his people produced their allegations against him in 1773, they urged but few instances of false doctrine, and of them he fully exculpated himself before a Council. The principal charge of this character was, that he had said that "God was the author of Sin." The sermon was produced, where it was said to be contained. He stated that he never held the doctrine in its gross sense, but only that sin was by permission, as in the instance of hardening Pharoah's heart, and for the truth of this he appealed to the whole tenor of his preaching. On the whole, the council declare, that they have all the evidence they can desire that he never believed the doctrine, but that he holds the sentiment in as much detestation as his opposers. He had been previously exonerated by his church from this charge.

In 1770 complaints were made against the pastor, concerning some innovations in the mode of singing, which were highly offensive to a majority of the brethren. The church passed some singular votes upon the subject.

Before this period, the mode of performing this part of public worship, was offensive to people of refined taste. The New England version of Psalms and Hymns was the only sacred poetry that was allowed admittance into most of our Churches. These were read, line by line, by one of the Deacons, when another set the tune, in which the whole congregation were expected to unite. This practice became sacred from its antiquity, and was difficult to be assailed without lessening the dignity of the officers employed in the service. A strenuous effort for a reformation was, about this time, generally made. Mr. Mellen was among the most active of these reformers. In a Sermon preached at Marlborough, at a singing lecture, in 1773, he states that the object in reviving the spirit of Psalmody has reference to the poetry as well as the method of singing it. He suggests that the practice of reading the line by the Deacons is a *modern innovation.*

In 1771, the church at Bolton, alledged various complaints against their pastor the Rev. Mr. Goss. A council was called, who exculpated him from the charges. A great controversy ensued, when the church finding they could obtain no relief from the advice of sister churches, proceeded to dissolve the pastoral relation between them and their minister. The neighbouring Clergy, considering this a high handed assumption of power upon the part of the laity, proceeded in council to pass censures upon the Bolton Church, in their corporate capacity; to deprive them of Covenant privileges, and to exclude them from all communion and fellowship with other Churches. The people being thus put upon the defensive, made a common cause of their troubles through all the towns in the vicinity.

1772. Nov. 1. Six of the Bolton brethren presented themselves at the communion, in the Sterling Church; the pastor declined administering the ordinance, while the proscribed members remained. The brethren voted that the Bolton men should not withdraw. Mr. Mellen availing himself of an obsolete article in the Cambridge platform, which was predicated upon the ground of a plurality of elders, assumed to himself the whole power of eldership, and declared his *negative* upon the vote of the Church, as he *non-concurred*. The brethren strenuously insisted upon their right, when a contention arose highly derogatory to the meekness and forbearance of the Christian character. The pastor, to avoid further confusion, withdrew from the meeting house, leaving the sacred emblems of brotherly love, of peace, and of humility. The communion was now suspended, and the contention greatly increased.

The aged people who recollect this transaction, represent it as one of the deepest interest. The passions of men were wrought to the highest state of excitement. The struggle for civil liberty had commenced; the people had examined the subject, and had taken sides upon all great questions that concerned the rights of men. Unlawful power was to be opposed, to be sternly resisted in all cases whatever, under the most solemn circumstances, even to the horns of the altar. To desecrate the holy hour of sacramental communion, strikes every reflecting mind with horror. But the high resolve was taken, and our fathers would have been false to their trust, they would have violated the principles of their ancestors, and have betrayed the interests of posterity, had they yielded on this occasion. We have no apology to offer for those brethren who went upon this crusade for liberty, nor for those who

invited them. Their conduct must be censurable, because more suitable opportunities for testing their patriotism frequently occurred.*

1773, Sept. A respectable ecclesiastical council was called, whereof the Rev. Mr. Dunbar of Stoughton was moderator, and the late Rev. Dr. Lothrop, of Boston, was scribe: they held a session of two or three days, during which time, they went into a patient investigation of all the charges and specifications made against the Pastor and brethren. The result exonerated Mr. Mellen and his friends from any severe censures; it was of course adopted by them, but rejected by a small majority of the brethren. The Church soon after called an *exparte* council, who advised to a mutual council, which met, but being much divided, they separated without coming to any result. Other councils assembled, whose deliberations terminated much in the same manner. The brethren concluding theirs was a case where the advice of neighboring Churches could not be had, boldly resorted to first principles, called a church meeting of their own accord, Nov. 1774, when they proceeded to dissolve the pastoral relation, and in this the Parish concurred.†

* The council very properly exculpate Mr. Mellen from any blame in the transactions of that day. He undoubtedly acted conscientiously; the error was in the council, for an attempt at arbitrary power, in regard to the Bolton Church. It is believed this was not a new exercise of ecclesiastical prerogative. It was usually styled, *the third process*. It is allowed by the Platform, Chap. xv. but is circumscribed, and to be preceded by admonition, and other previous steps, and is only to be exercised "when a Church be rent with division, or lies under open scandal, and refuses to consult with other Churches for healing or removing the same."

† The articles alledged against Mr. Mellen were of a three fold character: mal-administration, erroneous doctrine, and false speaking. Under the first head, the most prominent charges were for a supposed abuse in exercising his power as the constituted elder or presiding officer of the Church. He had declined putting questions to vote when proposed, had neglected to call Church meetings upon request, had arbitrarily dissolved them when called. But the principal charge under this head, and indeed the main cause of all the difficulties, was his exercise of the power of *negativing* or non-concurring the votes of the brethren. The councils apparently disclaim this right, and Mr. M. in his defence before them, gives it such an explanation as could not be objected to. He claims no power other than that of any brother by voting in the negative. In examining the various documents, it is difficult to ascertain what were his distinct views upon the subject, for immediately after this Council, he directs the communion table to be set, against the vote of the brethren, partly on the ground that he had negatived their vote. He afterwards claims the power in full and absolute terms, and attaches consequences to it, that never before had been understood. He considered the Pastor, Church, and Parish, as analogous to King, Lords, and Commons; that no vote could pass concerning their political relation, without a concurrence of the three branches.

Several of the brethren considering this measure altogether unwarranted and unprecedented, invited a respectable council,

In examining the Bolton proceedings, the same difficulty occurs of ascertaining with precision the extent of power claimed by the advocates of this measure. The question was referred to the Provincial convention of Congregational Ministers, held at Boston in the year 1773, and they gave their approbation (it is said) to a certain extent. We have not been favored with a reading of this result, but it was protested against, most vehemently by the friends of religious liberty. It was manifestly an assumption of power, not clearly understood by most of the disputants on either side. We here subjoin some of the votes from the Sterling Church records, to shew its absurdity.

"Voted, Not dissatisfied with Josiah Kendall, in regard to his saying to the Pastor in Church meeting, you are a deceiver, you have deceived me, and tried to deceive the Church, and if possible would deceive the very elect. Pastor non-concurred."

"Voted, It is not constitutional for the Pastor to act as moderator, when the complaints are against himself. Pastor non-concurred."

Mr. M. states "the vote of the Church is not a *perfect* act, according to the platform, without mutual consent. The government in Christ's Church must not be destroyed because there is not a plurality of elders, although the power of a single pastor may not be every way equal to that of a Presbytery. There are some to rule, as well as some to obey, according both to Scripture and Platform; but if one has no more power than another, or has no check upon others, then we are required only to obey ourselves without any control," &c.

As connected with the political controversies of the day, it was a subject of great interest, and it resulted like all other similar questions; when an intelligent people will a right, they invariably obtain it.

Under this head of grievances, was put that of not administering to the Bolton brethren, according to the vote of the Church. This was a preconcerted trial of strength between the people and the ministers. Bolton men considered their pastor had forfeited his office by immorality. They resorted to the communion of Churches for a remedy. Their wishes were overruled by the influence of the Clergy. The people, considering the authority of Councils not judicatory, but merely advisory, rejected their advice, as they lawfully might do, and stood upon their right. For this a council excommunicated them. Now, the power was to be brought to the test. If the Government of the Church was republican, a major vote of a sister Church would entitle them to communion, and thus defeat the will of the Clergy. The ministers resorted to the negative power for their protection, and in this way lost their offices.

The charges of this character were various. The brethren yielding to the temper of the times, wished to introduce a more democratic spirit into Church government, than had been practiced. Mr. Mellen, from his principles, strenuously and obstinately opposed all these innovations. He insisted upon his constitutional prerogatives, as ruling elder, to call Church meetings at his pleasure, and to dissolve them at his will: to put votes as he pleased, and to negative them when they passed against his wishes: to administer the Communion at the regular time, against their vote, and to withhold it when he thought proper. In fact, he manfully contended for what he says was the ancient order of the New England Churches. It was a great crisis in Church as well as in State affairs, and he manifested none of that accommodating disposition, which was imputed to him in the Arminian controversy. There is no ground to believe that he did not act conscientiously upon this occasion, for the consequences to him and his family were in full view before him. The council examined every charge, and although they do not appear fully to justify all his measures, yet they find nothing worthy of censure, but much for praise.

who severely censured the Church for their proceedings, and fully justified the Pastor and his adherents.

The great political questions so vehemently agitated at that day, now lent their aid to embitter and prolong the controversy. Mr. Mellen and his friends were stigmatized as tories, and considered as enemies to the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the people. He was excluded by violence from the sacred desk, but performed public worship with his faithful followers at his own house. Here and at the school house, he continued to preach and administer the ordinances for a space of about ten years, after which he removed from town.*

2. The charges of false doctrine were few, and generally trifling, they mainly consisted of detached sentences from his Sermons, and loose conversations; they were all susceptible of the satisfactory explanation we have before given of them. The charge that God was the author of Sin, which was alledged against him eight years previous by Mr. Josiah Kendall, was then brought before the Church in the absence of the Complainant, and after an explanation by Mr. Mellen, it was dismissed. It was now again adduced as the principal charge under this head, but was overruled by the Council.

3. To support the class of charges called false speaking, much evidence was adduced. But nothing was satisfactorily proved, that discovered any great obliquity of moral principle.

In fact, but a small part of the dispute related to the moral or christian character of the minister, it was rather of a political cast, and grew out of the public animosities of the day. Mr. M. was an advocate for *High Church and prerogative*, when his people were embarking their all in pursuit of liberty. Both sides acted consistently in conformity with their avowed principles, and at this period neither party should be condemned. It is one of the many incidents connected with the commencement of the revolution, and may serve to illustrate the character of that glorious age.

* The character of Mr. Mellen may be drawn from these imperfect notes, and from the various publications he left behind him. Liberally endowed by nature, with a strong and energetic mind, which was highly improved by diligent and successful cultivation, he obtained a high rank, both as a preacher and a scholar. Besides the volume of doctrinal Sermons, before noticed, there were printed eleven of his occasional Sermons. Of these we have seen his

Thanksgiving Sermon, on the reduction of Canada, in 1760, which contains a faithful and lucid account of the several Campaigns in that memorable war.

Sermon on account of the Sickness, in 1756.

Sermon at the General Muster, in 1756.

Sermon occasioned by the death of Sebastian Smith, in 1765.

Sermon at the Singing Lecture, in Marlborough, in 1773.

Notwithstanding the exasperated state of public feelings at the time of his dismission, soon after his re-settlement at Hanover, he returned to Sterling, when he preached a most impressive and pathetic discourse, which won the affections of all who had not been partizans in the controversy, and tended much to soften the asperities of his old opponents. His occasional preaching there was cordially received for many years, and his memory is still held in affectionate remembrance. Of his high qualifications as a preacher and a theologian, the aged people ever speak with the most profound veneration.

After the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Holcomb, it was difficult to reconcile Mr. Mellen, and six or seven of his adhering brethren. Several councils were

1778. The people finding themselves in a broken state, and being desirous of the reestablishment of the ministry among them, now sent for another council who censured their proceedings and advised them to pass a penitential vote, acknowledging their irregularity and the disorderly character of their conduct in the dismission of their minister, and to make him some pecuniary consideration. A vote passed the Church sufficiently humiliating, upon the subject but was not assented to by six of the brethren. This tended to prolong the contest among a few individuals for some years. The pecuniary question was submitted to referees who went into a public hearing of the subject during two or three days in the Meeting House. The parties were heard by counsel. The elder Judge Lincoln was for the people, and William Stearns, Esq. of Worcester, for the minister. No charges respecting moral conduct or private character were alledged by the people against Mr. Mellen. The award was in his favor, for a small sum with costs, and a further provision that his estate should be exempt from taxation, while he remained an inhabitant of the Parish.

1779. Difficulties being now settled, the people united in calling to the ministry the Rev. Reuben Holcomb, who was ordained June 2d. He was a native of Simsbury in Connecticut, and graduated at Yale College, in 1774.

called, but their results generally favored the party who summoned them. Mr. M. with his followers, continued to worship and enjoy the ordinances by themselves, as a distinct Church, until 1784, when he was called to the work of the ministry in Hanover, County of Plymouth. He was installed. Feb. 11, of that year. Here he remained until Feb. 1805, when he asked a dismission on account of his declining age. In Sept. following, he removed to Reading, and closed his long and active life under the care of his daughter, the relict of Rev. Caleb Prentiss. The following is the inscription on his monument in the Church yard at South Reading.

"Sacred to the memory of Rev. John Mellen, born March 14, 1722; graduated at Harvard University, 1741; thirty four years pastor of the Church at Sterling; twenty one years at Hanover; died July 4, 1807. Mrs. Rebecca Mellen, daughter of Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, born Sept. 22, 1727, having lived 53 years with the husband of her youth, died at Havover, Jan. 11, 1802. Their children, in whose boroms their virtues are faithfully recorded, in testimony of filial respect, affection and gratitude, have erected this monument."

Had his lot been cast at a different time, and under more favorable circumstances, he would undoubtedly have attained to great eminence in his profession. In his domestic character, he combined all that was exemplary and praise worthy. His three sons were fitted for College under his care and parental direction, and have added to the honors of the University, the reputation of eminence in their professions. John, born 1752, H. U. 1770. Henry, who died at Dover, born 1757, H. U. 1784. Prentice, born 1764, H. U. 1784, and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine.

The new administration commenced by a solemn renewal of their ancient covenant, prefaced by a declaration of deep penitence for their past wanderings, miscarriages, and deviations from duty, with a solemn resolution for future watchfulness and fidelity.

The Church now had rest, and an unusual degree of prosperity. In 1800, the Pastor introduced some additions into the covenant, with a view, as was suggested, of abolishing the half way covenant, which had existed from the foundation of the Church. The innovations were not accordant to the views of many of the members, but were silently acquiesced in. Those who had once tasted the bitterness of ecclesiastical controversy, were not easily induced to renewed dissensions. During this ministry, a remarkable degree of harmony and unanimity subsisted among the people. The Baptists had made great exertions to obtain converts in a remote quarter of the town. On account of their distance, the people there were unable to attend meeting, without great difficulty; Mr. Holcomb therefore appointed a stated exercise in that part of the parish, which served to recal his people. But two or three families left the parish, and the numbers of dissenters have not since greatly increased.

1814. March. This calm was succeeded by a petition subscribed by upwards of one hundred qualified voters, requesting the town to choose a committee to inquire of Rev. Mr. Holcomb, the terms upon which he would ask a dismission. In the discussion that followed, it was found that a large majority, probably seven eighths of the people, were desirous of a separation. Mr. Holcomb immediately preferred a request to the Church for a dismission, alledging as reasons, want of health in the pastor, and a want of affection and union among the people, and as a result of all, a want of a prospect of future usefulness and comfort.

May 19. This request was granted, and the town concurred, after a pecuniary compromise, which was effected by a vote of an additional year's salary.* These proceedings were sanctioned by an Ecclesiastical Council, June 15, 1814. In their Result the Council make the following remarks—"While we disapprove and bear our testimony against the dismission of ministers for frivolous causes, and without any specific allegations, affecting their moral, christian, or ministerial character; yet, for the reasons stated in the

* The original salary of Mr. Holcomb was £80, annually, predicated upon the prices of the substantial articles of living, together with thirty cords of wood. This was afterwards adjusted by a fixed sum of $383. This he received in cash semi-annually, and it was continued one year after his dismission.

application of Rev. Mr. Holcomb, to the Church and Town, for a dismission, to wit, 'want of health, want of affection and harmony, and as the result of all, want of a prospect of usefulness and comfort,' in view of the pecuniary provision made by the town as a consideration for his asking a dismission, and his acceptance of that consideration, this council think it expedient that the pastoral relation of the Rev. Reuben Holcomb, to the Christian Society in Sterling, be, and it is hereby dissolved.

"This ecclesiastical council, in obedience to a law of Christ, which commands us to bear each others burdens, do sympathise with the late Pastor of this Church, and the members of this religious Society, under their afflictions, arising from the events of this day. The proceedings which have come to our knowledge, evince a spirit of gentleness and mutual accommodation, and a solicitude, for the order and welfare of the town, which reflect on them much honor as individuals, and members of a Christian community. We unreservedly say that the resolution of the Rev. Mr. Holcomb, to unite with his fellow christians here, in an earnest endeavor to build up the cause and interest of the Redeemer, by promoting, as soon as may be, the re-settlement of a Christian minister, is worthy of a servant of 'the meek and lowly Jesus.' It is to us a cause of happiness, that in the communications made to this body, nothing has appeared that in the least affects the regular standing of the Pastor, or of this Christian Church. We affectionately recommend him to the benediction of Heaven. Wherever God in his Providence shall call him to minister in word and doctrine, we wish him the presence and blessing of the great Head of the Church. From the fulness of that treasure of consolation, which he has opened to others, may he also abundantly receive. We address the members of this society with more than common solicitude. In addition to the portentous scenes which are opening upon the men of this generation, it hath pleased the Supreme Disposer of all things, to spread a dark cloud over many Churches in this vicinity. We cannot, however, withhold from you our expressions of confidence and hope. It is but justice to you to say, that the past character of this people, their laudable attention to the education of children and youth, their general respect for religious institutions, and particularly their freedom from a spirit of sectarianism, are to us tokens for good."*

* The Rev. Mr. Holcomb has ever since resided in town, upon his beautiful estate, near the village, enjoying a dignified rest from the labors of a toil-

The sacred desk was immediately supplied in succession by Mr. Field, now the minister of Weston; Mr. Abbot late pastor of the North Church at Salem; and Mr. Lemuel Capen, of Dorchester, now pastor of a Church at South Boston.

1815. Jan. 30. The Church gave a call to Mr. Capen to settle in the ministry, by a vote of 35 to 15. In this the town concurred, 170 to 31.* It was also voted to allow him $400, as a settlement, and $600 as an annual salary. This was punctually paid him half yearly. The ordination solemnities were held March 22, 1815.† Great unanimity subsisted through the ministry of Mr. C. The covenant was now amended, so that all Congregational Christians might conscientiously assent to it. It was adopted, April, 1815, as follows, and has ever since been unchanged:—

"1. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with humble dependance on the Holy Spirit, and with sincere repentance of all our sins, we solemnly enter into covenant with the Lord Jehovah, taking him to be our God, giving up ourselves to his sovereign direction and disposal, and promising to make it one great business in life, to love and serve, to honor and glorify him.

"2. We receive the Lord Jesus Christ as he is offered to us in the Gospel, as the only Mediator between God and man, and through whom alone salvation may be obtained by the sinful children of men.

"3. We resolve to use the Holy Scriptures as our platform, whereby to discern the mind of Christ, believing them to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

"4. We promise that by all the means in our power, we will instruct those who are, or may hereafter be, under our care and direction, in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion.

"5. We promise to attend on the administration of God's holy

some office. He has not unfrequently supplied the neighboring pulpits with occasional preaching. His stated attendance upon the word and ordinances has been continued in the place of his former labors.

* Mr. Holcomb and his adherents opposed this call, not from any disaffection to the talents or sentiments of the Candidate. Most of them were his steadfast friends, and constant attendants upon public worship, through his ministry. Mr. Capen was born at Dorchester, November 27, 1788; graduated at H. U. 1810.

† On this occasion, Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, preached the Sermon, which was printed. Introductory Prayer by Dr. Porter, of Roxbury; Ordaining Prayer by Professor Ware; Charge by Dr. Sumner, of Shrewsbury; Right hand of Fellowship by Mr. Thayer, of Lancaster; and Concluding Prayer by Mr. Pierce, of Brookline.

word and ordinances, to submit to the council and discipline of this Church, so far as it shall be exercised in the spirit of the Gospel, and to cultivate a kind and charitable temper towards our fellow Christians and fellow men. And by the aids of Divine grace, we will in future order our conversation as becometh the Gospel of Christ, and walk worthy of this our solemn and holy profession."

1819, Jan. 4. Mr. Capen having at a previous meeting, presented to the consideration of the town a statement of his financial concerns, from which it appeared that his annual salary did not meet the expenses of his family, and the town not thinking it expedient to endanger their union by an attempt to increase his compensation, he now asked for a dismission. The preliminary steps were accordingly taken for a separation, which was consummated by an ecclesiastical council, Jan. 21, 1819.

In their result, the council bear ample testimony to the fidelity and uprightness of Mr. Capen's ministerial character, as well as to the justice, kindness and liberality of the town towards him. They observe—

"This Ecclesiastical Council feel constrained to express their mingled joy and lamentation, which have been excited by a review of the present state and prospects of their fellow Christians in this town. We have learned with peculiar satisfaction, that during the ministry of the Rev. LEMUEL CAPEN, this Christian Society has been in peace. In his instructions he has kept back nothing which was profitable. He has abstained from the encouragement of a spirit of controversy, and from the discussion of topics 'which minister to strife rather than to godly edifying.' Testimony is borne by those who have been his constant witnesses, to his exemplariness, to their increasing satisfaction in his public labors, and to the prospect of continued union. We have deliberately considered the steps he has taken as previously necessary to his separation from a people whom he respected and loved. We find in the disclosure of his pecuniary concerns a frankness and sincerity which are highly estimable. We are persuaded, the impression that his embarrassments were such as he had no means to retrieve, that his usefulness would thereby be prevented, and that it was his imperious duty 'to provide for his own, and especially for those of his own household,' led him to ask a dismission.

"Evidence has been given us that this people have fulfilled their civil contract, and have shewn towards their minister many tokens of kindness and liberality.

"We affectionately recommend the Rev. LEMUEL CAPEN to the ministers and churches of Christ, as one who has been 'an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.' We sympathise with him under his trials, and devoutedly pray that he may still be honored as an instrument 'in defending the faith which was once delivered to the saints;' and that he may have the consolations and rewards of long tried and persevering fidelity."

Upon this occasion, Mr. C. delivered his valedictory Sermon. An edition of it was published at Worcester, and another soon after in Boston, accompanied with the documents that led to the event. This discourse will long be preserved by his people, as exhibiting a striking portrait of the character of their beloved pastor. The reasons for the separation are here set forth in a manner plain and undisguised.* It breathes forth in an eminent degree a spirit of catholicism, of faith, of hope and charity. The simplicity of its manner and the cogency of its arguments reflect great honor upon him as a scholar, and the style of unrivalled pathos and fervent piety, with which he developes his views and his feelings will procure for him equal credit as a man and a Christian. His farewell addresses at the conclusion of the sermon, produced an effect in their delivery that has seldom been equalled. The town by an unanimous vote expressed their sense of his virtues, his learning and his piety.†

* "The thought of being separated from you thus early has always been painful to me; and I have no reason to suppose it less so to you. But however unpleasant may be the dissolution of a connexion, attended with so many happy circumstances on both sides, I am confirmed in the belief, that in the present instance it is expedient. The reasons assigned by me in my communication to you still prevail with me to justify the measure. It is not necessary here to repeat them. But acknowledging as I ever have, and still most cheerfully and gratefully do, the repeated instances of your generosity to me, I could not submit to the idea of being burdensome to you by urging repeated claims, and thus endangering that unusual degree of harmony and unanimity, which now so happily subsists among you, as a religious society, and as a town. It affords me much satisfaction to be able to say, that I have been induced to this measure by no motives of discontent, or ambition, and by no disaffection with my people. And since we must separate, it is a circumstance, which, though it renders the separation much more painful, and much more to be regretted, still leaves much consolation, and will ever remain a subject of the purest satisfaction to us all, that we separate with such mutual attachment and mutual good wishes." Extract from Farewell Sermon.

† IN TOWN MEETING—Sterling, January 21st, 1819.

"*Voted*, That after mature deliberation on the communication of the Rev. LEMUEL CAPEN, of the 4th instant, and the consequent result on that communication, we cannot with honour to ourselves and justice to *him*, but declare, that we received his communication with extreme regret and con-

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PAXTON.

THE EDITORS ARE INDEBTED FOR THE MEMOIR WHICH FOLLOWS TO AN OBLIGING FRIEND, A NATIVE OF THE TOWN DESCRIBED.

PAXTON is situated about eight miles northwesterly of Worcester, containing sixteen square miles.* It is bounded on the north by Rutland, on the east by Holden and Worcester, on the south by Leicester, and on the west by Spencer and a part of Rutland.

The soil is generally good. Like a great part of the interior of Massachusetts, this town is hilly, consisting of large swells of land, the summits of which resemble plains more than hills; the acclivity, in many instances, being so slight and gradual as hardly to be perceived for a considerable extent on their tops.

HILLS.—In the northern part about a mile and a half from the centre of the town, Turkey Hill commences. It is said that it took its name from the numbers of these birds formerly found upon it. This hill is more than a mile in length from north to south, and from half a mile to three quarters in width from east to west. The soil, particularly on the eastern and northern parts, is somewhat argillaceous, wet and cold. It however affords good pasturage, to which it is principally devoted.

In the easterly part of the town is Hasnebumskit† Hill which is

*Rev. Mr. Whitney in his history of this town has fallen into several errors as to its boundaries. He says "it is bounded on the north by Rutland; on the east by Holden; on the south by Leicester and Spencer; and on the west by Oakham and Rutland." Now the nearest point of Oakham to Paxton is, at least, two miles—and the towns are separated by part of Rutland and Spencer. The southwest corner of Paxton and the northwest corner of Leicester meet in the same point, in the eastern line of Spencer, which, at that point and for more than a mile on each side of it, is very *nearly*, if not quite, a right line, running almost exactly north and south. At the time Whitney wrote, Paxton was bounded on the east as stated by him; but on the 13th of February A. D. 1804, John Davis, Ebenezer Boynton, Nathan Harrington, Samuel Harrington, Micah Harrington and Ephraim Harrington, by an act of the Legislature, were set off from Holden and annexed to Paxton, and in consequence of this, the southeast corner of Paxton was extended so as to join upon Worcester for a short distance. There are some other trifling mistakes in the above mentioned history, which will be pointed out in the course of this sketch.

†This name is spelled in some old Deeds, Hasnebumskeat, and Hasnebumskeag; Harsonobumskit is found in one from Ephraim May, to Reuben Swan; Asnebumskit according to Whitney. The inhabitants generally call this hill, and the pond that lies near it, "Bumskit," which is acknowledged by all who know any thing of its proper pronunciation, to be a corruption. The orthography of this word used in this sketch, has been adopted upon the authority of some ancient writings, and the pronunciation used by those who have been taught by some of the first settlers of the hill.

nearly two miles long and about the same width, and, except Wachusett, is the highest land in the county. The ascent from the eastern part, which lies in Holden, is much steeper than on the west, and when viewed from the valley between this and Stonehouse hill in Holden, it has a grand and mountainous appearance. From the top of this hill, in a clear and favorable day, the prospect is very extensive and delightful, and not less than twenty five churches may be seen without the aid of a telescope.

The soil, in some parts is fertile, producing fine crops of grass, potatoes, indian corn and other grain. Much of it is devoted to pasturage, and some is still covered with wood. Although the surface is generally not rocky, yet there is reason to believe that the hill contains an immense mass of a species of granite, in which have been discovered small parcels of plumbago, or black lead. In many places this rock approaches to within a few inches of the surface; in others it is covered by earth to the depth of many feet. Sufficient examination has never been made to ascertain whether or not this stone might be quarried out for building stone, &c. to good advantage. During the summer months it not unfrequently happens that the summit, and sometimes a great part of this hill is enveloped in fog and mist, in the morning and evening, more frequently than the neighboring heights, which is generally thought to be indicative of rain. But the neighboring farmers do not place quite so much dependence on this sign as is intimated by the Rev. Mr. Whitney.

Just east of the meeting house is another large hill, but, is not designated by any particular name. The prospect from this hill is very extensive, commanding a view of the adjoining towns, the highlands in New Hampshire and Vermont, and in the western parts of this state. The grand Monadnock, Wachusett Hill, and Hoosac mountain may be very distinctly seen in a clear day from this hill.

Streams, Ponds, &c.—There are but two natural ponds in Paxton. Turkey Hill Pond is one of these and lies on the west of that hill. It is about half a mile in diameter; a great part of it has a muddy bottom, and the water, though rather shoal, has a black, disagreeable appearance. The fish, of which there is a good supply, are of a darker hue and less delicious flavor than those taken from most other waters in the vicinity. There is an outlet at the southern part, the channel of which has been enlarged and deepened, and a dam and gate constructed upon it, for the conven-

ience of mills below. This stream sometimes called Jennison's brook, runs about south-southwest, nearly two miles in Paxton, then enters the town of Spencer, and after being joined by several others, unites with the Chickapee.

There are three other small streams which empty into the above; two join it in Paxton, the other just within the bounds of Spencer. One of these rises in the southwesterly part of Rutland, passes into Paxton and empties into Jennison's brook in the meadow below Jennison's mills. Another rises in a small swamp about a mile southeast of the meeting house, runs a northwesterly direction and empties into the above, in what is called Howe's meadow. The third proceeds from two springs in the southwest corner of the town, runs a northwesterly direction through what is called "the great swamp," when it takes the name of "Toby," or more properly, "Tobias's brook," and empties into Jennison's brook in the edge of Spencer. The other pond lies in the northeasterly part of the town a little northwardly of Hasnebumskit Hill and bears the same name. This is a smaller, though handsomer pond than that of Turkey Hill. The surface of the former is several feet higher than that of the latter. A considerable stream flows from the northern part, which runs in a northerly direction until it enters Holden, thence it inclines more to the east and finally empties into the Quinepoxet in that town, which is a branch of the Nashua river.

A few rods south of Hasnebumskit pond and west of the hill is the source of a stream called "Arnold's brook," which runs in a southwesterly direction into Leicester and is the most northerly branch of the Blackstone river. Another considerable brook rises in some low grounds in the southwesterly part of the town, passes through the northwest corner of Leicester, where uniting with the outlet from "West," or "Shaw's pond," it passes into Spencer and unites with the stream from Turkey Hill.

Three of the above water courses have mills erected upon them in Paxton. On Jennison's brook, are two grist mills, one saw mill, and a triphammer shop. These are situated very near together, and the water from the first is successively used by all the others. The fall is great, and the supply of water generally sufficient, and is, in fine, a valuable site.

There is a very good mill privilege on the outlet of Hasnebumskit pond. Here are, likewise, two, if not three grist mills, at which much business during a part of the year, is done. On Ar-

nold's brook there is a saw and grist mill. But the supply of water during the summer, is not sufficient to keep them in operation.

CURIOSITIES.—About a mile north of the meeting house, a little west of the road leading to Rutland, is a spring, the water from which divides, a few rods from its source; a part running westerly empties into Jennison's brook, and thence passes into Connecticut river. The other part flows northeasterly into the stream from Hasnebumskit pond and thence into the Merrimack. About a mile southeast of the meeting house, there is a house so situated that the water from the eves on the west side passes into Connecticut river, while that from the east side flows through Kettle brook into Blackstone river.

The waters of Hasnebumskit pond, which, as has before been said, flow eventually into the Merrimack, are separated from the head of Arnold's brook, which empties into the Blackstone, by a strip of land but a few rods wide.

About a mile and a quarter from the meeting house, and a short distance west of the road leading to Rutland, is a meadow or swamp, of some extent, across which is a natural causeway, composed of gravel and stones, extremely hard and firm, while on each side the mud is very soft and deep. The surface of this causeway is nearly on a level with that of the swamp, though at one end, for some rods, it is lower and the mud extends quite across it in that part. It is about twelve feet wide, and stretches across the swamp from one side to the other, a distance of perhaps a hundred rods. Its direction is not in a straight line, but a little curved. Its width and appearance are very uniform. It has been observed by the present and former proprietors, that the surface of this swamp, in some parts, is several feet lower than formerly and that it continues to sink gradually.

POPULATION.—The population of this town has never been large and has not increased very much for many years. In 1790, the number was 558, and in 1820, it amounted to no more than 613 making an increase of only 55 in thirty years. There are, at present, but ninety nine dwelling houses in this town, and even some of these are not occupied. The increase of the population has been retarded and other inconveniences experienced in consequence of an unusually large proportion of the lands having been owned by non-residents.

SETTLEMENT, HISTORY, &c.—The principal part of Paxton originally belonged to Rutland and Leicester; the line between which

towns formerly passed a little north of where Paxton meeting house now stands. A strip of land, about two miles wide and four long, on the north part of Leicester, and a like quantity from the south part of Rutland, was formed into a distinct district, and incorporated as such by an act of "the Great and General Court" by the name of "The District of Paxton," on the 12th day of February, A. D. 1765. The first warrant for a town meeting found on the District Records is from John Murry, Esq. directed to Phinehas Moore, requiring him to warn a meeting of the Inhabitants for the choice of officers, dated the 25th of Feb. 1765. The first town, or rather district meeting was holden on the 11th of March, 1765, at the house of Mr. John Snow, where the proper officers were chosen and the district organized. In consequence of Paxton having been taken, as before observed, from other towns, there is some difficulty in collecting many facts in relation to its first settlement, without blending the history of the one more with that of the others than comports with the design of this sketch. Indeed it is not known in what year the first families were established in this place. But it is probable that permanent settlements were made within its limits, a few years after those in Rutland and Leicester, which happened about the year 1720. It is certain, that before the year 1746, there were several families in Paxton, and some considerable improvements made. For, about this time, from certain family records, it appears, there were two or three families located in the southwesterly part of the town. In 1748, Josiah Livermore, and his brother Jason Livermore, removed from Weston to that part of the town, to lands upon which there had been some improvements made. About the same time, Abijah Bemis settled in the same neighborhood, from Weston or Waltham. Near them was also Wm. Thompson and one or two of his sons. It is highly probable that the other parts of the town were settled as early, or, perhaps, earlier than the time above mentioned. The settlement of the town was never interrupted by Indian depredation, or by any other calamity, but progressed gradually until all the lands were taken up. What the number of inhabitants was at the time of incorporation, does not appear. But it must have been some hundreds; for of the one thousand men raised in the counties of Worcester and Hampshire, in the year 1756, to succour General Winslow against the French and Indians, five* men went from what is now Paxton.

* Their names were Ezekiel Bellows, Jacob Wicker, Jason Livermore, David Wicker, and John Wicker. They were under Brigadier Ruggles' command, and a part, if not the whole, were employed at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Fort Edward, at different times during the war.

At what time Paxton assumed all the privileges of a town, does not appear from the Records. At first it was incorporated only as a district; and indeed, it is very uncertain whether it has ever been constituted a town by any direct Legislative act. For several years the inhabitants gave their votes for Representatives in the town of Leicester.

By the following extracts from the Records of Paxton, it seems that it took the name and began to exercise all the powers and privileges of a Town, some time between the 11th of Sept. 1775, and the 19th of Feb. 1776; for under the first date, we find, "at a meeting of the *District* of Paxton," &c. and a warrant bearing the latter date, is the first one directed to the "Constable of the *Town* of Paxton." At this meeting, holden March 4th, 1776, they voted to pay to the administratrix of "the late Mr. Thomas Denny, (formerly representative from Leicester,) the sum of £1 15*s* and 9*d* which is the proportion of this town of the sum of £7 10*s*, being the said Denny's expenses at the General Court, in the months of May and June, in the year 1774."

The record of the proceedings of the next meeting, held May 23d, 1776, is the first attested by the Clerk, as *Town* Clerk, all the former ones bearing the attestation of the *District* Clerk. At a meeting on the 3d of March, 1777, it was "voted, that Mr. Abraham Smith,* our present Representative, use his influence in the General Assembly that the act passed last year altering the Representation of this state may be repealed." This is the first mention made of the town's having a Representative in the Legislature; and it is probable that Mr. Smith was the first ever sent from Paxton, though no record was made of his election. There is, however, a warrant dated May 13th, 1776, for calling a meeting on the 23d of that month, for the purpose of choosing "a person to represent them in the great and General Court," that year, "agreeably to a precept directed" to the town for that purpose. This warrant was not recorded until 1779, and it does not appear whether any meeting was holden or proceedings had.

These facts are mentioned, principally for the purpose of ascertaining the time when Paxton did, in fact, become a town, or began to exercise all the rights and powers of one; which, from the foregoing circumstances, must have happened some time in the year 1776.

* Mr. Smith was an inhabitant of Paxton and had held many of the highest offices in the District.

Ecclesiastical Proceedings.—The establishment of a church and proper provision for public worship, as was generally the case in Massachusetts, were among the first objects attended to by the inhabitants of Paxton, after their incorporation. For, at the first meeting after the organization of the District, holden on the first day of April, 1765, a vote passed to build a meeting house, and at subsequent ones, during the same year, arrangements were made for carrying this vote into effect; a committee was also chosen, and £13 6*s.* 8*d.* was appropriated for the purpose of procuring the Gospel to be preached in that place during the winter of that year.

The meeting house was raised and finished, at least in part, that year, and a larger sum raised to procure preaching.

Some exertions were made, at this time, to have an Episcopal church established in this town, but they were unsuccessful. It is probable, however, that this may have been one cause why a regular Congregational church was not sooner gathered and organized; for it appears this event did not happen until the 3d of September, 1767.*

Rev. Silas Biglow, a gentleman highly esteemed for his intellectual and moral worth, was invited by the district and church in May, or June, to settle "in the work of the Gospel ministry among them;" and was ordained as their first Clergyman on the 21st of October following. The ministry of Mr. Biglow was highly satisfactory to his parishioners, and much good feeling and unanimity existed in the society until his death; which happened on the 16th of November, 1769.

On the 28th of November, of the next year, Rev. Alexander Thayer was ordained as successor to Mr. Biglow. He continued in office until the 14th of August, 1782, when he was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council, mutually chosen by the parties. The town agreeing to pay him £40 within three weeks, and the amount of his salary which was due.

The connexion between Mr. Thayer and his society, at least during a part of the time, was unhappy. Were it possible to detail all the causes of dissatisfaction, they would not afford the reader, at this day, profit or pleasure. There were, however, two principal ones, which it may not be improper to mention. Mr. Thayer, in his political sentiments, was suspected to be somewhat favorably

* The covenant bears the above date, and was subscribed by the following persons; Phinehas Moore, John Snow, Jason Livermore, David Davis, Benjamin Sweetser, Silas Biglow, (Pastor elect,) Samuel Man, Oliver Witt, Stephen Barret, and Samuel Brown.

disposed to the royalist party. This suspicion, whether well or ill founded, was sufficient to create a degree of coldness, and, in some instances, a fixed dislike, especially among those, who, from other causes, had become disaffected. This dislike was heightened by another circumstance, which more immediately effected their interest. Mr. Thayer's salary was fixed at the time of his settlement at £66 13*s.* 4*d.* After the depreciation of the currency of the country, Mr. Thayer wished his pay to be so increased that he might receive a sum equal in value to his original compensation. This was not always done, though several grants were made for his relief at different times. But political animosities, and the unceasing demands for money to support the war, prevented the inhabitants from giving that aid to their clergyman, which, perhaps, was justly due, and under other circumstances would have been readily afforded.

The society became much divided before the settlement of another Clergyman, particularly in relation to Rev. John Foster,* who, after a long and warm contention among the members of the church and society, was ordained, on the 8th of September, 1785. The malecontents subsequently separated from the old society, and a new church was formed.

Mr. Foster continued the clergyman of Paxton until 1789, when he was dismissed. After this, exertions were made to re-unite the two societies and churches, which was finally effected on the 27th of May, 1793, and on the 5th of November, of the next year, the Rev. Daniel Grosvenor, who had been before that time settled in Grafton, was installed. For some years the society remained quiet and apparently well pleased with this gentleman. But the "root of

* Some idea may be formed of the opposition made to the settlement of Mr. Foster, from the following protest of several of his opponents. "We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of Paxton, do, hereby, *solemnly*, *sincerely*, and *wholly* protest and declare against the proceedings to be had and taken by the inhabitants of the said town of Paxton, now assembled in town meeting, in consequence of a warrant signed by a major part of the selectmen of said town of Paxton, as *illegal*, *unlawful*, and *unconstitutional*, and *unprecedented*. And we, the subscribers, do further solemnly protest and declare, that we will not, directly or indirectly, be at any cost or charge, or pay any money that shall be assessed on us, the subscribers, for settlement or salary that the inhabitants of said town of Paxton shall agree to give Mr. John Foster, except it is taken from us by force, as it is our opinion that the constitution will not admit of any such precedent. And we request that this protest may be read in the said town meeting, and recorded with the records in said town of Paxton. As witness ours, this thirteenth day of December, Anno Domini, 1784." Signed by twenty of the inhabitants.

There is another, of similar import, dated Dec. 20, 1784, signed by eighteen, a part of whom are the same who signed the first. In this they assign as a reason for their opposition, that "in our opinion said Foster is not learned, nor orthodox, neither of good report."

bitterness" was either not wholly eradicated, or else a new one was generated among them; for about the close of the last century, or the beginning of the present, dissatisfaction began to manifest itself, which increased to such a degree, and his health being extremely poor, that Mr. Grosvenor asked a dismission, which he received on the 17th of November, 1802.

From this period until the 17th of February, 1808, the town was destitute of a settled minister, when the present one, Rev. Gaius Conant, was ordained. It was hoped that this event would have put an end to dissention in this devoted society, but these hopes have not been fully realized. Dissatisfaction has, at times, shown itself, and several members have withdrawn and joined other societies. At present, however, tranquillity is restored.

Revolutionary Proceedings.—Paxton, in common with other towns, made great exertions for obtaining our National Independence; although there were several, the genuineness of whose republican principles was very much suspected. These, however, were so closely watched by the real Whigs, that they never were able to do any serious injury to the cause of American Liberty. During the difficulties previous to the commencement of actual hostilities, the inhabitants took all those precautionary measures, almost universally adopted throughout the country.

The first public proceeding that appears on record, in relation to this subject, was the choice of "a committee to petition the Great and General Court, for a name more agreeable to the inhabitants of this District, and to the public, than that of Paxton," this being the name of an individual,* who had rendered himself extremely odious to the people of this State, by the part he took in the political concerns of that time. At a subsequent meeting, Aug. 22, 1774, a committee was also chosen to consult and report on the state of public affairs; and they voted to purchase a barrel of powder, in addition to the stock then on hand, which was accordingly done.

Committees of correspondence and inspection were chosen, and

* This was Charles Paxton, one of the four "Commissioners of the Customs," appointed under the act of Parliament, passed in 1767, and who were authorised to appoint as many subordinate officers as they should deem necessary, for the proper management of the customs. This was the act, it will be recollected, which led to the associations among the Colonists, to abstain from the use of English merchandise; and therefore all who had been agents for carrying it into effect, had become obnoxious to the bitterest hate of the public. It is no wonder, then, that the people of this district should wish to lay aside the name of one, who, as they conceived, had been a voluntary instrument to deprive them of their dearest rights.

all the able bodied men of all ages, capable of bearing arms, were formed into military companies, one of which was called "The Standing," and the other the "Minute Company." Sums of money were raised to pay the minute men for their time and expense spent in "military trainings," and to procure for them proper arms and equipments. On the 17th of January, 1775, thirty three men were ordered by the town to be drafted as minute men; and were afterwards properly organized and equipped. These men chose Willard Moore for their Captain, who immediately marched with them to Cambridge, on receiving intelligence of the affair at Lexington and Concord. Here a part of them, but what number does not appear, joined the regular army, which was organized at that time, and among others their Captain. He was appointed a Major in this army, and fell in the memorable battle of Bunker Hill.

Besides furnishing the men regularly called for from this town, many individuals voluntarily enlisted for different terms of service. In July of 1776, Jason Livermore raised in Paxton, and its immediate vicinity, a considerable number of volunteers, who, being joined by others raised by Samuel Brewer, of Sutton, marched their company from Paxton on the 9th of August, 1776, for Charlestown, No. 4, and afterwards to Ticonderoga and Mount Hope, where they were stationed for some time. During the struggle for liberty, this town, which, at that time, contained a population of only about five hundred inhabitants, was frequently called upon to furnish from one to eight men for different periods of service. From the records, it appears on two occasions their quota was eight, and at several times four, five, and six.

According to these records, it appears that the town paid a sum equal in value to, at least, nine thousand six hundred dollars, of the present currency, for hiring, clothing, &c. the soldiers it furnished, and for the stores demanded by the Government, besides what it paid into the State and other Treasuries. In short, few, if any towns, contributed proportionally more for the achievement of our Independence, according to their means, than this. Indeed, at several times, particularly towards the close of the war, their public and individual suffering was extreme, and almost intolerable. *Yet their patriotism never flagged, and they nobly evinced, by their conduct, that they were determined "*to die or be free.*"

* It is a fact, within the recollection of many now living, that one of the last efforts of toryism, to prevent the final success of the cause of liberty, was an attempt to prevent the payment of taxes, about the year 1780–1. At this period, the fiscal concerns of the country were in a most deplorable state, and

When the State constitution was submitted for acceptance to Paxton, in 1780, the following amendments were unanimously adopted.

In the Bill of Rights, Art. 3, "we do not find that the Legislative body are empowered to make laws to prevent the breach of the Sabbath." It was therefore voted to insert after the word "*authorise*," &c. "to enact laws to prevent the breach of the Christian Sabbath."

Part 2. Chap. 2. Sect. 1. Art. 2. "Our forefathers did not only go under that extensive word *christians*, but *protestants*, and we mean not to have any other but protestants to rule us, but as occasion may require in the army." Therefore voted, "Dele the word *christian* and insert *protestant*." For the same reasons a like amendment was proposed to the 1st Art. 2d Section of this chapter, and to the 1st Art. of chapter 6th. They likewise deemed seven years, instead of fifteen, a sufficient time to test the goodness of that constitution, and voted an amendment accordingly to the 10th Art. of the 6th chapter. All the other parts were unanimously adopted.

STATE OF LITERATURE, &c.—From the first settlement of this town to the present time there has not been so much attention paid to literary and scientific education as in some others. A handsome

the raising of money, especially among the common classes, extremely difficult. Many had become discouraged from the long continuance of the war, the pressing exigencies of the country, and the exhausted state of the means for supplies. The moment seemed propitious for the accomplishment of the Royalists' wishes; it was seized upon by them, and a spirit of insubordination spread in some degree through the country. In many towns some of the inhabitants utterly refused to pay their taxes, and several attempts were made to prevent, by force, the constables from collecting them by distress. An affair of this kind happened in Paxton, which was related to the writer by an individual engaged in it. Three Cows had been taken by the Collector, in 1781, to pay the taxes of certain individuals, who had refused so to do. Secret exertions were made by the friends of the delinquents, and a large number in Paxton and the adjacent towns, agreed to meet at the time and place of the proposed sale, to stay proceedings, *vi et armis*. They met accordingly, each man carrying a large bludgeon beneath his coat. But information of this plot had been communicated to the committee of safety and correspondence about thirty six hours before the sale, and measures were taken to prevent its execution. One or two neighboring magistrates agreed to be present, and appeared with a sufficient number of the patriotic citizens from this and some of the other towns, to the confusion of the malecontents. After much unavailing exertion, by the well disposed, to have the affair amicably settled, the collector proceeded to make the sale. The insurgents, firm to their purpose, gathered around and threatened destruction to him who should dare to make a bid. One was made, but instead of "beating out the brains" of the bidder, the insurgents unexpectedly *pulled out* the bars of the yard, and let the cows escape. An affray ensued in which some blows were exchanged; but order was soon restored, and the demands of the collector satisfied. Several of the ringleaders were afterwards indicted; two from Paxton, one of whom was fined and imprisoned, and the other fined.

support has, however, been given to common schools, of which there are, and have been for many years, five; and the inhabitants have generally been enabled to become sufficiently learned for the correct transaction of ordinary business in life. The clergyman has generally been the only resident in the town of collegiate education. Previous to the year 1807, not a single native citizen of Paxton had ever received a degree from, or been admitted a member of, any public college, with the exception of one.* Since that time seven have graduated at different colleges, viz:

1 †John F. Livermore, Dartmouth College, 1810
2 Increase S. Smith, Brown University, Preceptor of the Academy at Hingham, 1821
3 Elbridge G. Howe, do. Missionary in Illinois, 1821
4 John Pierce, do. Clergyman Sangersfield, N. Y. 1822
5 George W. Livermore, H. U. Student at Law, 1823
6 Cyrus W. Conant, Union College, N. Y. 1824
7 †Charles Livermore, Harvard University, 1825

There has never been any permanent school in the town for teaching the higher branches of literature, and but little desire has ever been manifested for their pursuit. The young ladies of the town are, however, deserving much credit for their recent exertions to raise the literary reputation of the place. About two years ago, a number associated together for the purpose of mutual assistance in literary improvement, styling themselves "*The Paxton Female Reading Society.*" They have since been joined by almost all the young ladies of the town, and by their united exertions have collected a small Library, the first and only one of a public nature in the place, to which they are making gradual additions. It is hoped they will fully compass their laudable design.

There are no manufacturing establishments in the town, except on a limited scale. There are a few cotton and wool cards made, some shoes, chairs, wagons, and scythes. There are a sufficient number of different kinds of mechanics for the accommodation of the inhabitants. At present there is but one public house and one store. The inhabitants are mostly industrious farmers, and are content to obtain a comfortable living, and to "eat their bread in the sweat of the brow;" alike free from the care and vexation of great riches, and the suffering and wretchedness of real poverty.

* A Mr. Snow, but it is believed, that he died while a member, or immediately after he graduated. Mr. James Day also graduated before that time, who was a citizen, but not a native of the town. †Dead.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

JOHN ADAMS.

The following Discourse, delivered by the Rev. AARON BANCROFT, D. D. July 9, 1826, the Sunday following the death of the late President Adams, contains a valuable biographical notice of that distinguished individual.

2 SAMUEL, XXIII. 3.

"THE GOD OF ISRAEL SAID, THE ROCK OF ISRAEL SPAKE TO ME, HE THAT RULETH OVER MEN MUST BE JUST, RULING IN THE FEAR OF GOD."

CIVIL Government is established by a divine sanction. The civil ruler is the minister of God, and is appointed to promote the order, peace and prosperity of society. He only is the legitimate ruler of Heaven, who habitually acts under impressions of his responsibility to his Maker, with a view to the welfare of those whose important interests are committed to his management, and from a regard to the final issue of the Divine administrations.

My first position then is this,

1. Moral qualifications are indispensable requisites in a civil ruler.

The wisdom of all ages, and the experience of all time, unite to teach us, that the tranquillity, strength, and happiness of society, depend on the virtue of its members. If moral virtue be the basis of public prosperity, then religion is essential to the security of this blessing, for a religious principle only has sufficient strength to support the conflicts of virtue. Vain is the expectation that political considerations will direct the actions of men without the aid of religion. The man, who looks no higher for the motives of his conduct, than to the rules of political morality, may in instances without number, be vile and despicable.

If moral qualifications be essential to the character of a good citizen, they must be indispensable to that of the ruler, who, by the power of office and the force of example, has controlling influence. The higher the office, the more it concerns public interest, that he, who fills it, should act under a sense of obligation to *Him*, who is higher than the highest. We can never rely on the fidelity of that ruler, who does not reverence the Governor of the Universe. Intellectual talents, and literary acquisitions, experience and courteous address are desirable attributes of public characters; these, rightly directed, are useful and ornamental on the seat of judgment.

and in the chair of State; but without moral principle, these are only ability to do evil; and the greater are the accomplishments of the man, the more dangerous is the ruler. To the policy that deserves the name of prudence and wisdom, religion gives its sanction; and the methods which religion prescribes for the management of public affairs, are usually more successful than is the cunning of the wily statesman. A righteous end is best promoted by righteous means. A just way is obvious and direct, and the righteous ruler erreth not in it; but the man of duplicity is often entangled in the intricacies of his own artifice. People can place confidence in the correct conduct of a wicked magistrate no farther, than they suppose his personal ambition or his worldly interest to be involved; but the religious man acts under the influence of a principle which gives the best security for right conduct in every situation. People are in no danger of suffering from the ambition or pride, from the avarice or sensuality of this ruler; his power is the power of God; it is a terror to evil doers, and a praise and encouragement to all who do well.

2. It becomes civil rulers to reflect on their personal weakness and mortality.

Though civil rulers be for a time exalted as gods, yet they must die as men, and give account like one of the people. It must humble the great to consider that on the morrow their greatness shall be brought down to the dust, and that at the judgment seat of Christ moral properties will alone give distinction. Even the most exalted and patriotic of men must be humbled by reflecting on the limited sphere which distinguished characters fill, on the short duration of their public agency, and on the smallness of the chasm made when they are removed from their stations. The wise and revered statesman dies; but his death does not interrupt the prosecution of public measures; and his exit is scarce observed by the great body of the community. As one generation of human beings in the ordinary path of life succeeds, and takes the place of another; so one public character succeeds and fills the office which a predecessor held; and the great functions of civil society are without interruption performed.

3. A view to posthumous reputation may laudably actuate a ruler, but a regard to the retribution of heaven will alone support him under the conflicts and sacrifices to which patriotism sometimes leads.

The greatest and best minds have intensely felt the desire of

posthumous fame. Many have thought that no exertion was too great to secure it. Eminent men of the Gentile world, unsettled in their opinions respecting a future existence, manifested an ardent wish to transmit a good reputation to distant posterity, and thereby secure to themselves immortality on earth. Grateful to every man must be a rational persuasion, that he shall bequeath to his children, family and friends, a character of purity and worth, and leave a name in the community, which shall long be holden in estimation.

A thirst for popular fame may be ignoble. The man who adopts opinions because they are fashionable, and from selfish motives, yields himself to popular prejudices and passions, is every way contemptible, and usually his base motive is discovered, and he sinks into deserved disgrace; but the man, who holds fast his righteousness, who lets not his integrity go, who permits not his heart to reproach him so long as he lives, will generally secure public confidence, and when called from his agency, his memory will be honored among survivors. This honorable memory is in the bible promised as a part of the reward of goodness. The memory of the just shall be blessed; the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance. But occasions arise when all worldly motives fail the patriotic ruler; his integrity may be impeached, his benevolent exertions censured and condemned, his general character denounced, and he may approach the period of public and private life, in the full expectation, that his name will be remembered only for the purpose of execration. Under circumstances thus fitted to dishearten and depress, the religious man, self-possessed, may remain immoveably at his post. He has the testimony of his conscience to the rectitude of his aims and purposes, he places his confidence in God; and he looks forward to the decisions of an heavenly tribunal for his justification and reward. Let his riches take to themselves wings and fly away; let the wreath of worldly honor wither on his brow; let disease wear away his bodily constitution, and death break asunder all human ties: he sustains no essential loss. He is only removed to a higher state of existence. He is dismissed from the cares and labors of earth, that he may be admitted to the brighter honors, the nobler employments, and purer joys of heaven.

The national observances of the last week, and the recent death of a distinguished revolutionary character, led me to the reflections of this morning.

On an occasion like this, our retrospection is carried to events

that took place in the early settlement of our country, and our review rests on the venerated men, who at that time encountered the greatest dangers, and submitted to the severest privations. They, with invincible resolution, submitted to their perils and toils, not merely that they themselves might enjoy the blessings of freemen, but principally that they might transmit to their posterity the best public institutions, and leave to them, as an invaluable inheritance, civil and religious liberty. These all long since badeadieu to sublunary scenes. Many intermediate generations between them and us also sleep in the grave. We, who are now reaping the rich harvest of their labors, like them shall soon pass away; but by Divine blessing, we will leave our goodly heritage unimpaired to those, who are following us in the path of life.

It is the *memory* of the first pilgrims only that we can now cherish, and this remark may also be applied to most of those, who encountered the conflicts of the Revolution. But two individuals now survive of those who signed the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson of Virginia, and Mr. Carroll of Maryland.* Fayette excepted, not an individual, who bore the commission of a General officer in the American army, during that struggle, now lives. May the declining years of officers and soldiers, who yet survive, be cheered by the grateful attentions of their country; and to the destitute among them, may this country not merely say, be ye clothed, and be ye filled, but give them those things that are needful for the body.

The eminent citizen of our Commonwealth, whose exit demands our present notice, lived in an eventful period of the world, and he was permitted to serve his country in a manner, in which few men ever possessed power and opportunity for similar services. He was intimately acquainted with all the causes which led to a revo-

* In a few hours after the delivery of this discourse, information was received that Mr. Jefferson departed from this life on the 4th inst. The associations in the lives of Messrs. Adams and Jefferson, and the coincidencies of their deaths, were most remarkable. They were both members of Congress in 1776, and they were selected by the Committee of Congress to draught the Declaration of Independence. Mr. J. was the author of the Instrument, and Mr. A. supported it in the most powerful manner, when the measure was discussed by that body. At the peace of 1783, they were appointed Ministers to the two most important Kingdoms in Europe, France, and England. They in succession filled the highest offices in the government of the United States. They were the heads of two political parties, which agitated the whole country, and during the conflicts of the period were frequently opposed. In their retirement they became reconciled to each other, and lived to see these parties in a great measure amalgamated. They both departed from this world on the day of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of our nation.

lution, which probably involves the best interests of every future generation of our countrymen; and which, under providence, seems designed to have an important influence on the destiny of Foreign nations. In all measures relating to this momentous transaction, he had a primary agency. While the history of the United States is preserved, the scenes of our revolution will fill some of its most prominent pages; and as long as our language shall be perpetuated, the name of our patriot will be holden in honorable remembrance.

John Adams was born in Braintree, now Quincy, on the 19th of October, 1735. In July, 1755, he graduated at Harvard University. He, on leaving College, undertook the instruction of the Town School in Worcester. His Father was a respectable, but not wealthy farmer, and having given his son a Collegiate education, he left him subsequently to support himself. This, at that period, was a common practice in all inland country towns. The school furnished the means to meet the expense of his legal studies in the office of James Putnam, Esq. then an attorney of celebrity in this county. In 1758, he entered the office of Robert Auchmuty, Esq. resident in Roxbury, and in 1759 commenced his professional career in Boston.

Mr. Adams had but entered public life, when the controversy respecting the prerogatives of the parent government and the rights of the provinces reached an important crisis. On one side, the British Parliament issued a Declaration that they possessed power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, and on the other, the Provincial assembly denied that they owed subjection to Parliament, and protested against any tax laid on the colonies by this authority. They professed allegiance to the king, and acknowledged that he, in Council possessed a constitutional power to regulate their trade, &c. Mr. Adams was admirably qualified to take a part in this political contention. He possessed strong powers of mind, his natural temperament was high, his passions were ardent, and his constitutional inflexibility, which in small concerns appeared like weakness and obstinacy, in important affairs rose to a resolution that surmounted all opposition. An undaunted spirit, and an invincible fortitude in the prosecution of a purpose, were as important to a revolutionary leader in the 18th, as these attributes were essential to the character of the great reformer in the 16th century. And between Luther and our countryman, there was a similarity, both in respect to the character of their minds, and to their constitutional defects.

During the few years devoted to professional duties, Mr. Adams rose to distinction; and he was numbered with the patriots, who openly asserted the freedom of their country, and boldly defended its rights. In March, 1770, an unhappy affray happened between a detachment of the British troops and numbers of the inhabitants of Boston: several persons being killed by the firing of the soldiery, popular resentment rose to a great height, and vengeance was loudly demanded against the assailants. Under this excitement, Mr. Adams opposed the prevalent frenzy, defended the officer and his men in a court of justice, and supported law against the outrage of a mob. The indictment on this trial was for murder, but the verdict of the jury acquitted the officer, and reduced the offence of the soldiers who fired, to manslaughter. This manly and independent discharge of duty exposed him to momentary suspicion; but the confidence of his countrymen rested on a foundation too stable to be shaken by a transaction of this nature.

In 1774, Mr. Adams was elected a member of the Continental Congress appointed to meet at Philadelphia, and deliberate on the general interests of the American colonies. In this body Mr. Adams became a conspicuous and able member. When hostilities commenced, and no hopes remained of reconciliation on safe principles with the parent country, no member was more efficient than he in preparing Congress to take a permanent stand as an independent nation. At this crisis, from policy, a member from Virginia was solicited to move the resolution for Independence. Mr. Adams seconded the motion, and supported the measure by an eloquent and powerful argument.

Mr. Adams, in 1776, was appointed Chief Justice of Massachusetts, but his more extended engagements prevented his filling this honourable office. In September, of this year, Congress commissioned Dr. Franklin, J. Adams and E. Rutledge, Esqs. to open a conference with Lord Howe. They had an interview with him on Staten Island. His Lordship refused to treat with Congress as a legitimate body, and the committee refused to act in their individual capacity. The meeting therefore had no practical result.—In 1778, he was sent to France in a public character, in the hope of conciliating that government to the new order of things on the American Continent. He returned to the place of his nativity in 1779, and assisted in the formation of the constitution of our Commonwealth, which has been the model of most constitutions since formed.

In November, 1779, Mr. Adams was invested with two commissions by Congress, one constituting him minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, the second to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that power. On the 17th day of this month he embarked for Europe. In 1780, Congress invested him with a power to negotiate loans with any person or persons, pledging the faith of the United States to ratify his contracts; and in 1781, he was constituted in due form Minister to Holland. In the execution of these important trusts, he greatly aided the cause of his country. By his writings in the public Journals of Holland, and by his communications with distinguished individuals he obtained loans, and was thereby enabled to forward to America the materials of successful warfare. In the definitive treaty of peace, he had a primary agency, and with unyielding inflexibility maintained the rights of a sovereign nation.

While abroad, Mr. Adams, in a series of publications abounding with deep research and manifesting great political knowledge, explained and defended our civil constitutions, and illustrated the necessity of checks and balances in the several departments of government.

Great Britain having acknowledged our independence, and peace being established, Mr. Adams was the first minister of the United States to the Court of London. Here a novel circumstance was presented. The King, who had declared that he would never consent to the dismemberment of his empire, received a minister from a Republic, composed of his revolted provinces; the minister was a citizen, who had been marked as an arch rebel, and had the crown prevailed, he would have been destined to an halter. The address on this singular occasion was honorable to the minister and to his country; the reply of the King was magnanimous. (*See note A.*)

When the present constitution of the United States went into operation, our citizen was placed in the important station of Vice President, and was efficient in carrying the principles of the government into beneficial effect. At a very important crisis, he succeeded Gen. Washington as President of the United States. The personal character of President Washington had saved, and perhaps his influence alone could have saved, the country from being involved in the destiny of infatuated France. The French revolution had excited a party spirit among our countrymen of great acrimony, and when the government deemed it necessary to repel encroachments directed against the vital principles of a sovereign nation, vi-

olent opposition arose; and some measures then adopted, were attended with great and continued disapprobation. The odium of these measures rested in no small degree on the principal of the administration, and to this day, many seem disposed to visit the errors of the father on the son.

Goaded by the criminations of his political opponents, wounded by the dereliction of some whom he had considered as his friends, mortified at the issue of his political career, and irritated by the reflection that his patriotic services were not rewarded by the gratitude which he thought they merited, his constitutional propensities appeared, and in the heat of passion he spake unadvisedly with his tongue. But if he reviled his opponents, his opponents were not behind him in the acrimony of their censures, or the bitterness of their criminations. The defects he in these instances manifested should be considered as imperfections in the man, and not as faults in the ruler. His integrity was never impeached. Never did he descend to base arts for the sake of popularity. Open, explicit, firm, he maintained a consistent course, and from every public office he retired with clean hands.

His residence fixed at his native village, he inconsiderately yielded to the solicitation of a vain relative, and imprudently unbosomed his feelings in confidential letters, which being at a subsequent period treacherously made public, revived political animosities, which at the time had almost passed from public recollection. But he lived till the bruit, occasioned by this publication, was hushed into silence.

In 1820, President Adams was elected a member from Quincy of the Convention, chosen to revise the constitution of Massachusetts. This convention in the most respectful manner elected him their President. Declining this honorable office on account of infirmity by age, he occasionally attended the deliberations of this body, and revised the constitution, which forty years before he had assisted to form. This transaction closed his public life. Retaining his mental powers in an uncommon degree, in his retirement he was visited by many distinguished characters, and under the gradual decline of life, he was cheered by a view of the increasing prosperity of the nation. He lived to see the three millions, that composed the inhabitants of the associated provinces in 1776, multiplied into twelve millions; he lived till thirteen states were increased to twenty four, till the original frontier of the United States became the centre of a numerous population, till the basis of society in his country was widely extended, and the

means of human happiness were greatly increased. He lived to witness the unexampled progress of the United States in all those improvements, which render country dear and life valuable. His existence was protracted to the Jubilee of our national birth; and enough of mind then remained, to recognize its associations, and strength enough to exclaim "a great, a happy day." The first sounds of his manly voice were heard in defence of the rights of his country; and the accents of expiring nature were aspirations of thanks for public blessings. When the measure of human life was full, and while his own son was at the head of the national administration, at the expiration of fifty years from the promulgation of independence, his spirit ascended amidst the mingled incense of devout praise and gratitude, that arose from the altars of our land for our public peace, health and prosperity. A glorious exit.

But the brightest feature in the character of President Adams has not yet been presented to your view. He was a religious man. He lived under deep impressions of Divine superintendence, he reverenced the authority of God, and made religion the rule of his conduct. Firmly established, on the result of examination, in the belief of the truth of Christianity, he cordially embraced it, and lived in the habitual observance of its public institutions. No company was permitted to draw him away from his constant attendance on public worship: but he ever left those gentlemen around his table, who were not inclined to accompany him to the house of prayer. He honored the Saviour by commemorating his death in the rite of the supper, and his general conversation was such as becometh the gospel. Under the infirmities of age, religion supported him, and he died in the expectation of being admitted into the society of just men made perfect, of becoming personally acquainted with Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, and of dwelling forever in the fullness of the presence of God.

The public character of our illustrious citizen, I present to you, my young friends, who are engaged in various professional pursuits. Few of you commence your career under circumstances more unfavorable than his were. Let his success animate your efforts. Though opportunity may not be given you to serve your country and generation as he did, nor to rise in society to his height of eminence; yet if you emulate his application and fortitude, his rectitude and constancy, you will be qualified for distinguished usefulness, your course will become respectable, and your names will be honored.

The religious example of President Adams I present to all classes in society for their imitation. Comparatively few can make themselves conspicuous by the acquisition of abundant wealth, fewer can rise to pre-eminent distinction as legislators and statesmen; but all may become pious and good christians. The qualifications of the christian disciple cannot be purchased with gold, nor shall silver be weighed as the value of it, the price of wisdom is above rubies. The man who honorably supports in society the character appointed him, and in his place executes with fidelity the commission of life, which he has received, accomplishes the purposes of his present existence; and his appropriate rewards are not the fading honors of this world. The promise, which God by Jesus Christ has made to all those who fill up the measure of their duty in the relations they now fill, is ETERNAL LIFE.

NOTE A.

JOHN ADAMS'S INTRODUCTION AT THE LEVEE OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

A work recently published in England, under the title of "George the Third, his Court and Family," gives the following description of the introduction of the distinguished Adams, at the Levee of George the Third, to which allusion is made in the foregoing article. It was contained in a letter written by Mr. Adams himself to the Secretary of State.

At one, on Wednesday the first June, (says Mr. Adams) the master of ceremonies called at my house, went with me to the Secretary of State's office, in Cleaveland-row, where the Marquis of Carmarthen received me, and introduced me to Mr. Frazier, his under secretary, who had been, as his lordship said, uninterruptedly in that office through all the changes in administration for thirty years, having first been appointed by the Earl of Holderness.

After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland and France, free of duty, which Mr. Frazier himself introduced, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the antechambers, the master of the ceremonies introduced me, and attended me, while the Secretary of State went to take the commands of the King. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of the ceremonies, the room very full of ministers of state, bishops and all other sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the King's bed-chamber, you may well suppose that I was the focus of all eyes. I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it, by the Swedish and Dutch ministers; who came to me, and entertained me with a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen, whom I had seen before, came to make

their compliments too, until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned and desired me to go with him to his Majesty. I went with his lordship, through the levee-room to the King's closet—the door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences; one at the door, another about half way, and the third before the presence, according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to His Majesty in the following words:—

"Sire—The United States have appointed me Minister plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your family."

"The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection; or in better words 'the good old nature, and the good old humor,' between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

The King listened to every word I said, with dignity it is true, but with an apparent emotion; whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I could express, that touched him, I cannot say; but he became much affected, and answered me with more tremour than I had spoken with, and said:—

"Sir—The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am glad the

choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish your sir, to beleive, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I now say, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as your's prevail and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood have their natural and full effect."

I dare not say that these were the king's precise words: and it is even possible that I may have in some particulars mistaken his meaning, for although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated sometimes between members of the same period. He was, indeed, much affected, and I was not less so, and therefore I cannot be certain that I was so attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; and I think that all he said to me should at present be kept secret in America, except his majesty or his secretary of state, should judge proper to repeat it. This I do say, that the foregoing is his majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words, as nearly as I can recollect them.

The king then asked me whether I came last from France; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and smiling said, 'there is an opinion among some people that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France.' I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on the one hand, nor lead him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gayety, and a tone of decision, as far as was decent, and said, 'That opinion, sir, is not mistaken. I must avow to your majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country.' The king replied as quick as lightning: 'An honest man will never have any other.'

The king then said a word or two to the secretary of state, which, being between them, I did not hear; and then turned round, and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backwards, as

is the etiquette; and making my last reverence at the door of the chamber I went my way. The master of the ceremonies joined me the moment of my coming out of the king's closet, and accompanied me through all the apartments down to my carriage; several stages of servants, gentlemen porters, and under porters, roaring out like thunder, as I went along, Mr. Adams' servants, Mr. Adams' carriage, &c.

TO THE PATRONS OF THE MAGAZINE.

It has been the object of the Publishers to present to their friends and subscribers, a work of permanent value, which should not only furnish pleasant reading for present amusement, but beneficial information for future use. How far they have succeeded is not for them to determine: they may, however, appeal with a feeling of satisfaction, to the historical sketches of Northborough, Leicester and Shrewsbury, and the memorials of other towns, from the pens of able and faithful writers, as evidence that they have not been wholly disappointed. In the execution of their design of furnishing a minute and particular account of each town in the county of Worcester, they have been compelled rigorously to exclude articles of more general interest and miscellaneous character. Could they succeed in accomplishing their design, they hazard nothing in saying, that a more minute and accurate history of our territory, its population and resources would be furnished, than is now possessed by any section of the United States. But they are not in a situation which permits *great sacrifices of time, labor and expense.* They cannot hide from themselves, and they ought not to conceal from their readers, that their undertaking cannot be prosecuted to a successful conclusion without more efficient patronage, and that, at the termination of the present volume, unless aided by more extensive and increased support, their labors must be suspended, to await a more favorable period.

ERRATA.

In Mr. Crosby's notice of West Boylston, the number of the well known Farmer's Almanac issued in the year, is stated at 36,000; it should be increased to 96,000.

The names of Mr. Hildreth and Mr. Moore, have been formerly included among the graduates from Colleges, as natives of Sterling. They were born in the territory originally included within that town.

The next number will contain an account of the town of LANCASTER. by JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.

WORCESTER MAGAZINE

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

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HISTORY OF WORCESTER COUNTY.

HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

BY JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.

In giving a sketch of the history of Lancaster, I labor under serious disadvantages. Those valuable sources of information, the records, are quite imperfect: the records of the Church till the time of Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708, are lost; while those of the town extend no further back, than 1725; the first volume having unaccountably disappeared, more than forty years since. After much exertion, I have been able, only in part, to supply these deficiencies, from various and distant quarters; and from the books of the proprietors, in which are preserved some valuable materials: but even here there is a lamentable hiatus from 1671, to 1717, including King Williams' war, of eight, and Queen Ann's war, of eleven years.

After giving the topography, present state &c. of the town, I shall touch upon its civil and ecclesiastical history.

The town of Lancaster is situated in the north part of the County of Worcester, about 33 miles west from Boston,* and 15 miles nearly north from Worcester.

Boundaries.—The general boundaries of the town are as follows, viz. north by Shirley and Lunenburgh, west by Leominster and Sterling, south by Boylston and Berlin, and east by Berlin, Bolton and Harvard. The general direction of the town, in length, is northeast and southwest. The average length, is nine and eleven sixteenth miles; the greatest length nine and fifteen sixteenths, de-

* The distance was till the last year, 35 miles. The great alterations in the road, especially through Stow, and the new road from Watertown to Cambridge, make a difference of two miles.

duced from an accurate map.* It was originally laid out for ten miles, and this slight variation of one sixteenth of a mile, was probably owing to an error, in the original survey, which will be mentioned in the sequel; a less error it is supposed than was usual in such ancient measurements. The breadth, is very irregular; it varies from 4¾ to 2⅞ miles.

Roads, Mails, &c.—The public roads extend over 600 acres of land. The principal road, is the one leading from Boston, through Leominster, to Greenfield and Brattleborough: and another branch of it through Sterling, to Barre, Greenfield, &c. The mail arrives and departs daily, excepting on Sunday: thirty two mails are opened and closed, and the various stage coaches pass and repass the same number of times, in the course of each week. There is a short turnpike road which begins in Bolton, and terminates in Lancaster, a mile north of the church.

Soil, Productions, &c.—The town contains twenty thousand two hundred and eight acres of land. Of this three thousand acres, no inconsiderable part of the whole, are intervale, and about seventeen hundred, by estimate, are covered with water. Much of the soil is deep and rich. The light lands, produce large quantities of rye, barley, oats, &c. while the better part of the upland, and all the intervales, are well adapted to Indian corn, the potatoe, grass, and indeed to every kind of cultivation, with but comparatively little labor. The intervale, in particular, yields largely, and rewards the husbandman, many fold, for the little care he is obliged to take of it.

Its fertility, is owing to the annual overflowings of the river, when the ice and snow melt in the spring. The waters become turbid by the rapidity of the current, and the earth, that is washed into its bosom, is deposited on the land, and serves all the good purposes of every kind of manure. These freshes, undoubtedly, sometimes occasion much immediate injury: for by reason of the elevation of the country in which the river has its sources, and through which it passes, the stream rises rapidly, and is borne along to the valley of the Nashaway,† by an accelerated and furious cur-

* Made by order of the General Court in 1794. I have followed the advice of a valued friend, and have omitted the boundaries, by degrees, rods, stakes, stones, &c.

† It will be observed that I spell the word Nashaway; it is a better word than Nashua, the modern alteration, or refinement, as some may think it. The former, is the ancient reading, the true orthography; for which, I have the authority of Winthrop, Colony Records, Middlesex Records, proprietor's books, &c. from 1643, to a late period. The innovation should be rejected at once, as a corruption.

rent, filled with large cakes of ice, destroying mill dams, and sweeping away bridges, in its destructive course.* In the spring of 1818, it was very busy in the work of ruin: most of the bridges were dashed in pieces by the ice, and none, I believe, escaped uninjured. Since that time, only two bridges have suffered; one in the spring of 1823, called the Centre Bridge, just below the confluence of the two branches of the river, and the other, during the last spring, (1826,) on the south branch, between the first mentioned bridge, and the late Dr. Atherton's residence. But, notwithstanding the numerous losses that have been sustained of old and of late years, they are far outweighed by the annual benefits, which the Nashaway, bestows upon the land.† The principal trees on the uplands, are the ever-green, and oak of the different kinds, the chesnut, maple, &c. on the intervales, the elm in all its beautiful variety and the walnut.‡ More attention is now paid to the cultivation of fruit trees, than formerly; but it is chiefly confined to the apple, and in fact, to the pear. A strange neglect has ever prevailed, with regard to the delicious summer fruits, as the cherry, peach, plum, apricot, nectarine, garden strawberry, &c. that might be cultivated with but little expense of time or money. No place, within my knowledge, in this state, is better adapted to these fruits, both as it respects the soil, exposure to the sun, and gardens ready made. Some few individuals are beginning to think of these things, and to set out trees: and probably in a few years, these articles of luxury that may be so cheaply obtained, will be more generally attended to. At present, excepting a few tolerable, and some intolerable cherries, and a few wild strawberries, &c. we have nothing, deserving the name of summer fruit. A few sorry peaches, the growth of other places, perhaps I should mention, are occasionally sold in town.

Surface of the Country, &c.—The general surface is undulating, with no very high or steep ascents. The principal eminence,

* The damage to bridges in 1818, amounted to $1639 71.

† Whitney says that "the river overflows the whole interval twice in a year, in the spring, and in autumn." However, this may have been in his day, it is not so in this nineteenth century.

‡ Of the Shagbark kind. Much attention was paid by some of the principal inhabitants, some seventy years since, in ornamenting different spots, with the elm, and we, of the present day, enjoy the beauty, and the shade. The present age is less considerate in this respect. Dumbiedikes' advice to his son is disregarded—"Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I ne'er fand time to mind him."

is called George hill;* a fertile and delightful ridge, extending about two miles from southwest to northeast, on the west side of the town. Nearly parallel with this and rising gently from the river which skirts it on all sides but the north, is what is frequently termed the Neck. Not far from its extremity, towards the south west, is the centre of the town. The prospect to the east, is confined by the range of hills in Harvard and Bolton, beyond the intervale. To the west, beyond the intervale on that side, appears the whole length of George hill, and as the eye passes over its fine outlines, and gentle ascent, it rests upon the Wachusett as the back ground of the picture. The walnut tree, and the majestic elm† are scattered in pleasing irregularity over the wide spreading intervale. The variety of foliage, of light and shade, and the frequent changes of tints, shadow out a landscape, that never fails to charm all who are alive to natural beauties. The prospect is equally inviting from George hill, and from the hill on the road to Sterling.

*The southern part of this hill, is the highest and in some points of view, may pass for a distinct hill. Tradition says, it took its name from an Indian, called by the English, George; who once had his wigwam there. The name I first find in the proprietor's records, is under the date of Feb. 1671.

†There is a number of different species of the elm in Lancaster. One kind is very tall, the branches high and spread but little. In another the branches shoot out lower upon the trunk, and extend over a much larger space. A third kind resembles in some measure the first, in form, excepting that the trunk is entirely covered with twigs thickly set with leaves, and forming a rich green covering to the rough bark, from the ground to the large branches. Many of these elms are of great size: The following are the dimensions of a few of them, measured by Mr. George Carter and myself, in July, 1826.

One on the Boston road, between the house of the late Dr. Atherton and the last bridge on the south branch of the Nashaway, measured in circumference twenty six feet at the roots. Another on the old common, so called, and near the burying ground, twenty five feet five inches at the roots; eighteen feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches, at four feet from the ground; the diameter of the circular area and of its branches, measured ninety eight feet. A third, southeast from center bridge, and near what was formerly called the neck bridge, was twenty six feet six inches at the roots, and twenty feet, at four feet from the ground. A fourth, a little to the south west of the entrance to centre road, and some fifty rods south of the church, twenty four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet, at four feet from the ground. This tree, when very small was taken up and transplanted between ninety and one hundred years ago by the late Col. Abijah Willard. We also measured a sycamore tree, a little to the southwest of centre bridge and found its circumference at the ground, twenty five feet, and at four feet from the ground, eighteen feet. The height of this tree, must be about one hundred feet. There are also some large and beautiful elms in front and on one side of the Rev. Dr. Thayer's house. They were all set out by his immediate predecessor the Rev. Mr. Harrington. The two largest measure fifteen and fourteen feet at the ground. On the farm of Mr. Jonathan Wilder, on the old common so called, there is a beach tree which measures eleven feet. It is upwards of a century old. A tree of this kind, and size, is very rare in this part of the country.

There is an appearance, occasionally on a summer evening that struck me forcibly the first time I beheld it. When the vapours are condensed and the moon is up, the whole expanse of the valley, appears like one broad sheet of water just below you, and extending as far as the eye can reach, in distinct vision. The tops of the tall trees, as they appear above the mists, look like little islands, dotting the broad bay. The illusion is perfect, without borrowing largely from the imagination.

MINERALS, &c.—More than seventy years ago, a large slate quarry was discovered, by a Mr. Flagg, near Cumberry pond, in the north part of the town. The slates were in use, as early as 1752 or 1753, and, after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and to the atlantic states,* and formed quite an article of commerce. For many years past, however, the quarry has not been worked. The slates, I believe, though always considered as of an excellent quality, could not at least come in successful competition with those imported from Wales, &c, on account of the expense of transportation. The water is now quite deep in the quarry.

The minerals, according to Dr. Robinson, are the following.—viz. *Andalusite*, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. *Macle*, abundant on George hill and elsewhere. *Earthy Marl*, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. *Pinite*, in clay slate: also, green and purple *pinite*, fine specimens on George hill in granite. *Spodumene*, fine specimens, in various parts of the town. *Fibrolite*, abundant in mica slate. *Phosphate of lime*, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat in the swamps and low lands, in the south west part of the town.†

STREAMS AND OTHER BODIES OF WATER.—The largest stream that flows through the town, and indeed the largest, and most important

* Whitney says, "great numbers of them are used in Boston every year." This was in 1793.

† A Catalogue of American minerals, with their localities &c. by Samuel Robinson, M. D. Boston, 1825. The marl, mentioned above, is found in great abundance. It extends in strata, from the neighborhood, of Messrs. Poignand & Plant, through New Boston, almost to the middle of the town. Though very valuable as a manure it is but little used. Probably individuals are not fully sensible of its enriching qualities. Mr. John Low, who has made use of it for some years, on light soils, has assured me that it increases the product nearly one half. The few others who have tried it, are abundantly satisfied of its great service.

in the County, is the river Nashaway, formed by the junction of two branches.* The north branch rises from the springs in Ashburnham, and from Wachusett pond in Westminster, and passing through Fitchburg and Leominster, enters the town on the west. The south branch has two sources, one from Rocky pond on the east side of the Wachusett, the other from Quinepoxet pond, in Holden. These unite in West Boylston, and enter the town on the south. The two main branches, after pursuing a devious course for many miles, unite near the centre of the town, south east from the church. There are a few small streams that issue from Oak hill, Mossy, and Sandy ponds, all of which find their way to the river. The streams fed by the two latter ponds unite, and between their junction and the river, are situated the works of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company.

Besides the rivers, there are ten ponds in Lancaster, viz:

	Acres.		*Acres.*
Turner's pond	30	Oak hill pond	15
Fort do.	100	Cumberry do.	13
Part of White's do.	80	Clamshell do.	50
Great Spectacle do.	115	Sandy do.	55
Little do. do.	24	Mossy do.	55

Whitney relates, that the "water in Cumberry pond is observed to rise as much as two feet, just before a storm," and that "Sandy pond, rises in a dry time." However pleasing it may be to believe these things true, and to have some phenomena of natural philosophy in one's own neighborhood, I cannot venture to confirm them, but contrarywise, must set them down, after inquiry, as fabulous. There are various springs in town; from three of them on George hill, the village situated a mile south west from the church, is bountifully supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct consisting of leaden pipes that extend in different directions and branches, more than two miles.†

BRIDGES.—There are no less than seven bridges over the Nashaway supported by the town, besides one half of the bridge leading to Harvard. A bridge over the turnpike road, supported by the cor-

* The first Inhabitants early gave to the north branch, the name of north river, the south branch they called Nashaway, and the main river, after the junction of the two streams, which is now properly the Nashaway, they named Penecook. I find Penecook used in the town records as late as 1736, and north river, in a deed dated 1744.

† A company was organized last winter by virtue of Stat. 1798, chap. 59. The whole expense of the work, was not far from $2000.

poration, and one or more private bridges, complete the number. Great expenses, as will readily be supposed, have been hitherto incurred in maintaining so many bridges—greater, indeed, than were necessary. It has, till lately, been usual to build them with piers resting upon mud sills, inviting ruin in their very construction; for the ice freezing closely round the piers, the water upon the breaking up of the river in spring, works its way underneath the ice, which forms a compact body under the bridge, raises the whole fabric, which thus loosened from its foundations, is swept away by the accumulative force of the large cakes of ice that become irresistible by the power of a very rapid current. A better and by far more secure style of building has lately been adopted, and from its great superiority, will doubtless gain general favor and supercede the old method. Two bridges on the improved plan, each consisting of a single arch, have been constructed; one in June, 1823, near "the meeting of the waters," and the other in June, 1826, just above, on the south branch of the river.* They are entirely out of the reach of the spring tide fury, and though more expensive at first, their durability will prove their true economy.

MILLS, TRADES, MANUFACTURES, &c.—Lancaster contains five saw mills, three grist mills, two fulling and dressing mills, one carding machine, one nailfactory, two lathes, turned by water, and two brick yards. There are also four wheelwrights, two tanners, ten shoemakers, one saddle and harness maker, two cabinet makers, one clock and watch maker, six blacksmiths, three white smiths, one gunsmith, one baker, one bookseller, one apothecary, one stone cutter, one cooper and one hatter. The business of printing maps, is very extensively carried on by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter. About 250,000 are annually struck off, and supply a great number of the schools in every part of the United States. In the various departments of this business, viz. printing, coloring, binding &c. fifteen persons are usually employed. There are fifteen or sixteen establishments for making combs, in which fifty persons, at least, are employed. The annual sales of this article are from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. In consequence of the great im-

*The bridges vary in length from seventy to one hundred feet. The arched bridges were constructed on a plan furnished by Mr. Farnham Plummer, an ingenious mechanic of this town. The chords of the arches are ninety eight feet six inches and seventy feet respectively.

provement in machinery,* within a few years, double the quantity of this article is now manufactured, with a considerable deduction in price.

The foundation of the Lancaster Cotton Factory, was begun in the fall of 1809, on a small stream, which empties into the south branch of the Nashaway. There are two large buildings, one for carding and spinning, with eight hundred and ninety six spindles; the other for weaving, with thirty two looms, which are equal to delivering two hundred thousand yards of four fourths sheeting of two qualities, viz. No. 18 and 25, in a year. The stream on which the buildings are erected, is fed from swamps and powerful and never failing springs, which are supposed to have their sources in Mossy and Sandy ponds. From the situation of the factories the fall in the bed of the stream is secured, upwards of a mile. This fall in the whole is about sixty two feet. The present improved mode of spinning, by means of circular spindle boxes, was first put in operation in this establishment: and one of the managers was the inventor of the picker for cleaning cotton, with two beaters, now in general use in all well conducted establishments of the kind. The resident managers are Messrs. Poignand and Plant, who are assiduous in their business. Probably no establishment of the same kind and extent, is under better regulations, or is managed to greater advantage.

Pot and Pearlash.—The manufacture of pot and pearlashes was undertaken in Lancaster, at an earlier period than in any other part of America. I cannot state the precise time; but as early as 1755, these works were in operation.

In that year, Joseph Wilder, Jr. Esq. and Col. Caleb Wilder, sent in a petition to the General Court, that they "have acquired the art of making pot and pearlashes, and that they cannot ship them, because no assay master has been appointed." The business was carried on quite extensively, for many years. Col. Wilder was chiefly interested, and the quality of the article made by him was so good, that after other similar works were established, his manufacture, was the most valued.

* The improved machine was an invention of Mr. Farnham Plummer of this town. It will cut one hundred and twenty dozen side combs, in a day. It cuts out two combs, from a square piece of horn, at the same time. The circular saw which was previously used, cuts but one tooth at a time. Capt. Asahel Harris, an intelligent man, who deals largely in this business, assures me that the new machine, is a saving of nearly one half in point of time, that it saves also a third part of the stock, besides much hard labor. It can be so constructed as to cut combs of any size.

At one time the quantity sold annually, was as high as one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty of potash. After his death his son Levi Wilder conducted the business, nearly to the time of his own decease, in 1793. Other individuals,* have at various times paid attention to this business, subsequent to Col. Wilder; but now it is only a matter of history in this place.

Stores, &c.—There are in Lancaster five public houses, six stores, containing English and fancy goods, &c. and in five of them the usual supply of West India goods.

Libraries.—The private libraries in this town are not very numerous. There are, in all of them, about three thousand volumes. The books in general, are well selected, there being but little trashy matter.

A social library now containing nearly four hundred volumes, most of them valuable, was established in the year 1790.

To supply a want that was felt by many, a number of subscribers joined together in the autumn of 1821, and established a Reading Room. The principal and primary object was, to procure the most valuable periodical publications, and such miscellaneous works of the day, as possessed a good reputation. It was supposed that in this way, a taste for reading might increase, and that whatever should be done to extend and elevate the love of letters, would equally tend to raise the tone of society. The original plan has of late been somewhat enlarged, as the establishment gained favor and began to promise to be permanent. Besides the class of works contemplated at first, books are now admitted from time to time, whose fame survives the day, books that have already a standard character. The success of the undertaking has probably surpassed general expectation. The annual increase of the library† of the Reading Room is not far from one hundred volumes. The whole number, at present, is about three hundred: and the increase has been greater during the last and present year, than at any earlier period, during the same length of time.

Schools and Academy.—For a few years subsequent to the Revolutionary war and occasionally, before, the Grammar School was kept the whole year, in the centre of the town.‡ This arrange-

* Dr. Wm. Dunsmoor, Dr. James Carter, Mr. Oliver Carter and others.

† It consists of Reviews, works of fiction, poetry, history, voyages, travels, biography, &c.

‡ A few historical data, relating to schools, may not be without interest. In 1729, there were three schools, viz. on the Neck, (near the present town

ment did not last long: it was supposed that the requisitions of the law could be answered in a way that would bring a fractional part of this school, almost to every man's door. It was therefore soon

house) at Wattaquaduck, (now in Bolton,) and at Bear hill, (now in Harvard.) In 1731, these schools were kept as follows, viz. Bear hill 82 days, Wattaquaduck, 104, Neck, 177. 1736, on petition of Ebenezer Beman and others, it was voted, that the school should be kept at divers houses in the north part of the town: so also in the southwest part of the town. In 1742, three new school houses were built: this was after the incorporation of Harvard and Bolton. One of them was in Chocksett (Sterling) and the other two in Lancaster proper. The old school house on the Neck, above mentioned, was given to Rev. Mr Prentice for a stable!! 1757, voted, that the grammar school be kept in each precinct, (Lancaster and Sterling) "according to what they pay." The reading and writing schools to be kept in the extreme parts of the town, five months in the winter. 1762, voted to give leave to Col. Abijah Willard and others, to build a school house on the town land, below the Meeting house in the first parish. 1764, on petition of Levi Willard, Esq. and others, voted, that the grammar school for the year ensuing be kept in the middle of the town, provided they build a school house, and support the school for the year, after the amount of their taxes has been appropriated for that purpose.

In 1767, the grammar school was kept seven months in the first, and five months, in the second precinct: in 1771–72–73–78, one half of the year in each. In 1789, the grammar school was kept on nearly the same plan as in 1764; so in 1789. In 1790 voted, to build a school house opposite to Gen. Greenleaf's. Wm. Stedman, Esq. now occupies the Greenleaf house.

The following are some of the school masters. 1724, Edward Broughton, 1725, do. 1726 Mr. Flagg, afterwards Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester, N. H. graduated 1725; 1727, Henry Houghton, Jonathan Moore, Samuel Carter; 1729, Samuel Willard, Esq. (Judge C. C. Pleas,) Thomas Prentice, (who graduated 1726, afterwards minister in Charlestown,) Mr. Bryant and Jabez Fox. Josiah Swan was a veteran schoolmaster: I find him as early as 1733, and through many intermediate years, beginning with 1751, to 1767 inclusive. Mr. Swan was of Lancaster, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1733. In May 1755, he was admitted a member of Rev. Mr. Prentice's church, and it may be, pursued his theological studies under the direction of Mr. P. He was settled in Dunstable, N. H. 1739, dismissed in 1746, in consequence of a division of the town, by running the line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He remained there a few years, then returned to this town; afterwards went to Walpole, N. H. where he died. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. 55. 1736, Josiah Brown and Thomas Prentice.

Mr. Brown was probably a graduate at Harvard University that year or 1735. He kept school for a number of subsequent years, and as late as 1765. 1744, Brown and Stephen Frost. There was a Stephen Frost, of the class of 1739, at Cambridge. 1746, Edward Bass of the class of 1744: afterwards the first bishop of Massachusetts. 1747, Bass and Joseph Palmer, who was afterwards a clergyman, graduated at Cambridge, 1747. 1749–50, Edward Phelps. 1752, Abel Willard, Esq. of the class of 1752, at Cambridge. Samuel Locke, Jr. afterwards Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. &c. President of Harvard University. He graduated at Cambridge, in 1755. The late President Adams graduated the same year. 1756, Hezekiah Gates, an inhabitant of Lancaster and a useful citizen. 1757–8–9 Moses Hemenway, afterwards Rev. Moses Hemenway, S. T. D. class of 1755, and minister of Wells, in Maine. 1758, Mr. Warren, the celebrated General, who was killed at Bunker's Hill. He graduated in 1759. 1762, Mr. Parker, a graduate at Cambridge. 1762, Israel Atherton, of the class of that year, M. M S. Soc. for many years after a distinguished physician in Lancaster, and the first physician of liberal

voted, that it should be kept in different parts of the town, in the course of each year, for the convenience of those who lived in remote places. Both the spirit and the letter of the law, were misunderstood, and the most important advantages intended to be secured by it, were lost. The Latin Grammar School, after lingering some years in a doubtful state of existence, was discontinued a few years previous to the modification of the law. As much attention, however, it is believed, is paid here to education as in most other places, and we have caught something of the excitement, that is becoming prevalent on this subject. The school law of the last winter, of such manifest importance and usefulness, has already been productive of benefit, and has increased the interest, which every good citizen should take in education. There are twelve school districts in town. The following, is taken from the return of the school committee, to the General Court, in May last.

Amount paid for public instruction,	$1005
Amount paid for private instruction,	50
Tuition fees at the Academy,	600

Time of keeping school in the year, six months in each district.

Males of the various ages specified in the law,	351
Females do.	349
Total,	700

In this number the pupils at the Academy are not included.

Number of persons over 14 unable to read and write—None.

Number prevented by expenses of school books, None.

education in the County of Worcester. 1762, Joseph Willard, afterwards Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. L. L. D. &c. and late President of Harvard University; graduated at Cambridge, 1765. 1764–65–66, Ensign Mann, a graduate at Cambridge, in 1764. 1765, Brown, probably a graduate at Cambridge, Joseph Bullard, Frederick Albert, Mr. Hutchinson, probably of the class of 1762, and Peter Green, now living in Concord, N. H. aged 91, and still active in his profession as a physician, class of 1766, M. M. S. Hon. 1766, John Warner, Robert Fletcher. 1767, Josiah Wilder, probably Dr. Wilder of Lancaster.

It seems that a large proportion of the instructors I have mentioned, received a public education. At the present day, it is far otherwise in this place.

I will close this long note, with the mention of the amount of money raised for schools for a number of years. 1726 to 30, £50. 1739, (after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated) to 1742, £80. 1755, £50 lawful money. 1764, and to 1769, £100. 1769, £104. 1778, and 9, £200 depreciated currency. 1781, £8000, old emission. 1782 and 3, £80. 1784, £100. 1804 and 1805, $400, for Latin and Grammar school the year through, in the centre of the town, $600, for English. 1810, $1056 in all. 1815, $1000, and for a number of years past, $1005. Regular school committees have been chosen annually since 1794.

Some years since, many of the inhabitants felt desirous of affording their children more abundant opportunities of instruction, than could be obtained at the public schools, which, it cannot be expected, will ever be kept the year through in the various districts. In order to secure a permanent school, a number of gentlemen from this and the neighboring towns, associated together, and established an Academy early in the summer of 1815. Few institutions of the kind have probably ever done more good. Many have already been taught there,* who, but for its establishment, would have been much less favored, in their opportunities for learning. The building used for the school being inconveniently situated, at some distance from the centre of the town, an effort was made in April last, to obtain a subscription to erect a new building, in the centre of the town. A large and ample sum was obtained in town for this purpose, with but little difficulty. The land just south of the church was given by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter, who, with their brothers, have also subscribed most liberally, to the undertaking. A new and very tasteful building of brick, two stories in height, with a cupola and bell, is nearly completed. The situation is well chosen: a fine common in front is thrown open, and a beautiful view of the valley and rising grounds, particularly to the west, renders the spot delightful. It is intended to add to the present school, a distinct and permanent school for females, in the second story of the building. This indeed is a highly important part of the new plan; for it is believed, that if society is to make great advances in future, it must be by improving the means of female education; and that the progress of society in learning, refinement and virtue, is in proportion to the cultivation of the female mind. An act of incorporation has been applied for; a bill for that purpose passed the Senate at the last session of the General Court, and, without much question, will pass the House, next winter. The Academy thus far has had the advantage of able instructors: the following are their names, viz.

Silas Holman—M. D. Cambridge, 1816, now a physician in Gardiner, Maine. He kept but a few months in the summer of 1815.

* Mr. Frederick Wilder a graduate at Cambridge, in 1825, and son of Mr. Jonathan Wilder of this town, was educated at this academy. He died at Northampton, in the winter of 1826. He was full of promise; he possessed a mind of a high order and a heart filled with every good feeling and virtue. No one was ever more generally beloved; the highest rank seemed to await him, whatever path of study he might incline to pursue. Death has destroyed bright prospects and deprived the world of the good influences that a leading and pure mind ever exercise in society.

JARED SPARKS, Tutor Harvard University, 1817 to 1819, afterwards clergyman in Baltimore. Now editor of the North American Review, in Boston. Graduated at Harvard University, 1815. He was the preceptor from the summer of 1815, one year.

JOHN W. PROCTOR, Preceptor from summer of 1816, one year; graduated at Harvard University, 1816; now Attorney and Counsellor at Law, in Danvers.

GEORGE B. EMERSON, From summer of 1817, two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1817, and Tutor from 1819 to 1821; for some time Preceptor of the English Classical school, and now of a private school, in Boston.

SOLOMON P. MILES, from 1819 to 1821, August two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1819, and Tutor 1821 to 1823, now preceptor of the high (English Classical) school, in Boston.

NATHANIEL WOOD, from 1821 to 1823, two years; graduated at Harvard University 1821, Tutor 1823 to 1824, now a student at law, in Boston.

LEVI FLETCHER, from August 1823, to the fall of 1824; graduated at Harvard University, 1823, now Chaplain on board the United States frigate Macedonian.

NATHANIEL KINGSBURY, from the fall of 1824, of the class of 1821; left college during the third year and went to the island of Cuba. He is the preceptor at this time.

Under the present preceptor, the Academy sustains a high character for discipline and instruction. By the new arrangement, the inconveniences that are too apt to occur by the frequent change of teachers will be avoided. The situation of principal of the Academy, is to be a permanent one, as far as is practicable.

POOR.—The support of the poor, formed for some years no inconsiderable part of the annual tax. They were dispersed in different families, in various parts of the town, among those who would support them at the least expense to the town. Too often, and as a natural effect of this wretched system, the lot of these unfortunate persons was cast among individuals, themselves but little removed from absolute poverty. The system too, if such it could be called, was clumsy extravagance; the highest price was paid for the support of the poor, and the treatment of poverty appeared like the punishment of crime.* In view of these things,

* Various attempts, from the year 1763, to the present century, have been made, to establish a work-house, but without success, till the late effort.

Jonathan,	80	Joseph,	60
Hannah,	77	Joanna,	75
Abigail,	86	Jotham,	87
Josiah,	94	Silence,	75
Ruth,	40	John,	91
		Elisha,	90

Making an average of eighty years, seven months and six days.

A few other remarkable ages may gratify the curious.

	DIED.			DIED.	
Adams Sarah	1802	81	Phelps Edward	1784	90
Atherton Israel Dr.	1822	82	Priest Elizabeth	1798	84
his wife, Rebecca	1823	86	" Joseph	1798	83
Baldwin Keziah	1815	91	Pollard John	1814	85
Divol Manassah	1797	82	Rugg John	1799	85
" Ephraim	1798	84	" Jane	1805	93
Divoll Elizabeth	1813	93	Robbins Bathsheba	1805	85
Fletcher Mary	1813	86	Rugg Zeruiah	1807	86
Fletcher Joshua	1814	90	" Lydia	1807	91
Fletcher Rebecca	1820	92	Sawyer Josiah	1801	82
Fuller Edward	1802	85	Simmons Micah	1817	83
Houghton Elij. Capt.	1810	82	Stone Isaac	1816	93
" Alice	1808	83	Tenny Rebecca	1802	81
Joslyn Mary	1825	88	Thurston Priscilla	1811	83
" Samuel	1826	88	White John Capt.	1797	83
Jones Mary	1805	85	Wheelock Martha	1802	94
Leach Mary	1818	86	Wilder Martha	1811	94
Nichols Joseph	1826	82	Wilder Samuel	1824	81
Phelps Asahel	1812	86	Willard Simon	1825	97
Priest John	1797	88	Wilder Ephm. Capt.	1769	94
Phelps Joshua	1784	84			

CIVIL HISTORY.—The first settlement of Lancaster goes far back in the early history of Massachusetts. It was the tenth town, incorporated in the County of Middlesex, and precedes, by many years, every town now within the limits of the County of Worcester. Indeed, no town, so far from the sea coast, was incorporated so early, excepting Springfield; Northampton was in 1654: Chelmsford, Billerica and Groton, in 1655, Marlborough, in 1660, and Mendon, in 1667.

According to Winthrop, an incontrovertible authority in these things, the plantation at Nashaway was undertaken sometime in

1643.* The whole territory around, was in subjection to Sholan, or Shaumaw, Sachem of the Nasbaways, and whose residence was at Waushacum,† now Sterling. Sholan occasionally visited Watertown, for the purpose of trading with Mr. Thomas King, who resided there. He recommended Nashawogg to King, as a place well suited for a plantation, and invited the English to come and dwell near him.

From this representation, or from personal observation, that nature had been bountiful to the place, King united with a number of others,‡ and purchased the land of Sholan, viz. ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; stipulating not to molest the Indians in their

*Gov. Winthrop's history of New England, date, 3d month, (May) 1644, and relating events that preceded that time. I have cited the passage, see post—Rev. Mr. Harrington states the purchase to have been made in 1645: but the authority of Winthrop is not to be questioned. Rev. Dr. Holmes gives the same year as Gov. Winthrop.

† The orthography of this word is very various. Harrington spells it as in the text; in other parts of Worcester Magazine, it is different: Gookin in his historical collections of the Indians, writes "Weshakim." 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I Vol. "Wechecum" says Roger Williams, is the Indian for sea. Key to Indian languages, Chap. 18.

A. D. 1643. Winthrop says that "Nashacowam and Wassamagoin two Sachems, near the great hill to the west called Warehasset, (Wachusett,) came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government, &c. so we causing them to understand the ten commandments of God and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received and then presented by the court with twenty fathoms more of Wampum, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful." Coats and dinners and sack, were wonderful persuasives with the Indians. Was not "Nashacowam," the same with Sholan?

‡ John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Mr. Stephen Day, Mr. Symonds, &c. Here Mr. Harrington in his century sermon stops. Who are meant by &c. it is impossible to ascertain; perhaps, they may be Gill, Davies and others, mentioned subsequently in the text. Of those first mentioned, a few gleanings may not be without interest. Prescott came from Watertown: Garrett probably from Charlestown. He never moved to Lancaster. Two thousand acres of land, were mortgaged to him by Jethro the christian Indian, and laid out to Garrett, near Assabeth river, in 1651. There were two or more of the name of Garrett at this time in New England. Where Harmon lived, I do not discover. An Indian of the same name, lived in Rhode Island. 3 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 221. Skidmore is mentioned in Boston Records, as of Cambridge, in 1643. Day was of Cambridge, and the first Printer in America. In 1639, he set up a printing press at Cambridge, at the charge of Rev. Joseph Glover, who died on his passage to this country. The press was soon after, under the management of Samuel Greene. Day occasionally visited the plantation at Nashaway. He was of Cambridge in 1652–'53, and in '57. In the last, year the General Court, on his complaint that he had not been compensated for his printing press, granted him three hundred acres of land. Also, in 1667, they allowed him to procure of the Sagamore of Nashaway, one hundred and fifty acres of upland, and twenty of meadow. If he ever lived at Nashaway, he probably came in 1665. The

hunting, fishing, or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the General Court.* It was probably not a common thing for towns to be settled under such favorable circumstances; not only was there a fair contract made, satisfactory on all sides; but a previous invitation, in the feeling of friendship, was given to induce the English, to extend their population, to the valley of the Nashaway. The precise time of the removal to Lancaster, cannot be ascertained. The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King, about a mile southwest of the church, and a little to the north west of the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. King never moved up, but sold his interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other, to begin the plantation at a certain time. To secure their purchase, they directed certain individuals,† to whom lots were given, to commence the settlement immediately, and make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors. Winthrop gives the following marked account of the first settlement. "3d mo. (May) 1644. Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a *universal* scholar, one Mr. Nocroff (quere Norcross‡) to be their minister, seven§ of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders, advised them first to go and build them habitations, &c. (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very

town, in Feb. 1654, O. S.—1655, N. S. granted "Master Day" one hundred acres of upland, twenty of it for a house lot. Symonds never resided here. He was, perhaps, Mr. Samuel Symonds, for some years an assistant; the title "Mr." not then universal, but confined to particular persons, somewhat strengthens this suggestion. King was a proprietor of Marlborough, in 1660.

* This deed, I believe is not, in rebus existentibus. I have diligently searched in Middlesex, and Suffolk records, and in the office of the Secretary of State, without success.

† Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball.

‡ This spelling is taken from the old edition of Winthrop; the new edition with its corrected text, and learned notes, by Mr. Savage, does not extend so far. The second volume, however, which will be published in a few months, will reach nearly to the time of Gov. Winthrop's death. Norcross, is an early name in Watertown. "Nocroff," I have never met with.

Mr. Savage says the conjecture is right; he also says, that in the same paragraph of Winthrop; "Universal scholar" should be "University scholar."

§ This number was necessary, according to Johnson's wonder working providence, to constitute a church, in the colony. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 71.

slowly, so that in two years, they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."*

It appears further by the records of the General Court 1. 8. 45 (Oct. 1645,) that "upon the petition of the undertakers for the plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing, that John Gill, Sergeant John Davies,† John Chandler, Isaiah Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots to be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he has taken the oath of fidelity." These men, however, did nothing to forward the plantation. The General Court felt still unwilling to give up all effort to advance the growth of the place, as appears by the record of a subsequent session: I will recite it, trusting that I shall not be thought too minute in the early, and most interesting portion of the history of the town. It is as follows, viz:

"27, 8, 1647" (Nov. 7, 1647, N. S.‡) "Whereas the Court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jonathan Chandler, &c. and that Gill is dead, Chandler, Walker, and Davies§ have signified unto the Court, that since the same grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further have made request to the Court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the Court doth not think fit to destroy the said plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the

* This does away the imputation in Rev. Mr. Harrington's century sermon, that the minister left them by the instigation of such of the proprietors as disliked removing, or else by his own aversion to the place. Winthrop noted down events day by day, as they occurred. He is distinguished for his accuracy. Mr. Harrington's relation probably was derived from tradition in town. Winthrop's Journal remained in manuscript, till 1790, I believe; of course Mr. Harrington had not access to a correct account of the matter, as his discourse was preached in 1753.

† The same probably who distinguished himself in the Pequot war, 1637. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VIII. 147; and went against the Nianticks, Hubbard 465, and was sent as one of the commissioners to the Dutch in New York. Ibid, 547.

‡ To speak with more accuracy, the present difference between the Julian and Gregorian year, is twelve days. Before the year 1800, it was eleven days. That year by the calendar of Gregory XIII, the intercalary day was omitted, making the difference twelve days as above stated. Before the calendar was reformed, the year began on the 25th of March, Lady Day, or Annunciation.

§ These names I have not met with, excepting in the above extract from

mean time to remain in the Court's power to dispose of the planting and ordering of it."

It appears, by what has been related, that many circumstances combined to retard the growth of the plantation. All the associates, excepting Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, though they chose to retain their interest. Linton and Waters* returned to Watertown, where I trace them in 1646, and again to Lancaster in the spring of 1647. Prescott preceded them, and must be recorded as the first permanent inhabitant in Lancaster. This is a clear inference from Mr. Harrington, (p. 11.) John Cowdall of Boston, in his deed, 5. 8 mo. 1647, of a house and twenty acres of land, at Nashaway, made to Jonathan Prescott, calls him late of Watertown. Others soon followed, viz. Sawyer, Atherton, Linton, Waters, &c.

This is as full a sketch of the history of the plantation, previous to 1653, as can be obtained after employing no little diligence.

At that time, the number of families had increased to nine, and on the eighteenth of May of the same year, the town was incorporated by the name of Lancaster.† As this was the first town in the County, in the order of time, it may not be improper to recite some of the provisions of the act of the General Court. They say, "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court find, according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the Court's power."

"Considering that there are already at Nashaway, about nine families; and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition,‡ the Court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth, it shall be called Lancaster, and shall be in the County of Middlesex."

The next provision is to "fix the bounds of the town according

the records of the General Court. I do not feel sure that they belong to Lancaster, and on the other hand, have no evidence that they belong to any other plantation. James Savage, Esq. the learned editor of Winthrop, informs me, that this notice in the records is claimed for Weston.

* Lawrence Waters dwelt in Watertown, as far back as 1635.

† At this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation: the course was as in this instance to grant a plantation the liberty of a township, on certain conditions; as making suitable provision for public worship, &c. and when these conditions were complied with, "full liberty of a township according to law," was granted. It is sufficiently correct, for common purposes, to say, that Lancaster was incorporated May 18, 1653, O. S.

‡ This petition, and the names, are, probably, not in existence.

to Sholan's deed, beginning at the wading place, Nashaway river, at the passing over to be the centre; thence running five miles north, five miles south, five miles east, and three miles west, to be surveyed and marked, by a commissioner. Six of the inhabitants, viz. Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, and Ralph Houghton, or any four of them whereof the major part are freemen, to be prudential managers of said town, both to see to the allotments of land for planters, in proportion to their estates, and to manage their prudential affairs, till the General Court are satisfied that they have able men, sufficient to conduct the affairs of the plantation; then, to have full liberty of a township according to law." And further, it was permitted all the old possessors, to remain, provided they took the oath of fidelity.

The inhabitants were ordered to take care, that a Godly minister be maintained amongst them, that no evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants, and none to have lots confirmed to them, but such as take the oath of fidelity.

A similar provision to this last, was common in the incorporation of other towns, and shows the great importance that was placed upon religion, and habits of order; that these were conceived to lie at the foundation of all good government, that they reached the highest, mingled with the humblest, and exercised a controlling influence over the whole character of society. The effect of these things in past and present times, is a fruitful subject of discussion,—the effect upon remote generations, permits wide speculation; not however to be indulged in, on the present occasion.

The act of incorporation concludes, with ordering, that the inhabitants remunerate such of the first undertakers, as had been at any expense in the plantation, "provided they make demand in twelve months; and that the interest of Harmon Garrett, and such others of them, who had been at great charge, should be made good in allotments of lands; provided they improve the same, by building and planting within three years after their land is laid out to them. Also that the bounds of the town be laid out, in proportion to eight miles square." In the fall of 1653, (Nov. 30, O. S.) the Committee or selectmen, as they may be called, proceeded in their duties of laying out land, and managing the affairs of the town. The first division of lands, was between the two branches of the Nashaway to the west; and to the east, on what is called the Neck, lying between the north branch of the river, and the principal stream. To

the north branch, they gave the name of North river; the south branch only, they called the Nashaway; and the main river, after the confluence of the two streams, which is now the Nashaway, they named the Penecook. Each portion contained twenty acres of upland, besides intervale. On the west, the first lot by which all the others on that side were bounded, was laid out to John Prescott, at the place I have before mentioned, where Simonds and King some years before, built the trucking or trading house; about a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. Then in regular order towards the north, followed John Moore, John Johnson, Henry Kerley, William Kerley, (his own, and one purchased of Richard Smith,) and John Smith. Next, south of Prescott, was the land of Thomas Sawyer. The land on the Neck was divided as follows—first, Edward Breck, on the south east corner of the neck, and very near the house of Mr. Davis Whitman. Then followed in order, towards the north, on the same side of the way, Richard Linton, Ralph Houghton, (his own and one purchased of Prescott,) James Atherton, John White, William Lewis, John Lewis, son of William, Thomas James, and Edmund Parker. Richard Smith's land was a triangular piece, apart from the rest, between the present church and Sprague bridge. Robert Breck's* land was on the west side of the Neck, and from the description, must have been in the middle of the town, by the church.

As soon as the first division of lands was completed, the inhabitants and others entered into a covenant for themselves, their heirs, executors, and assigns, in substance as follows, viz: after sundry orders touching the ministry, &c. which will be mentioned in the context, they agreed that such of them as were not inhabitants, and who were yet to come up, "to build, improve, and inhabit, would by the will of God, come up, to build, plant, and inhabit," within a year, otherwise to forfeit all they had expended, forfeit also their land and pay five pounds for the use of the plantation.

To keep out all heresies, and discourage the spirit of litigation, they inserted the following article, which I will recite, viz: "For the better preserving of the purity of religion and ourselves from infection of error, we covenant not to distribute allotments, or receive into the plantation, as inhabitants any *Excommunicant*, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be) nor any one notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the state and Government of this Commonwealth. And for

* Edward Breck dwelt in Lancaster awhile. Robert never moved up.

the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the rules of justice and equity, amongst ourselves, we covenant not to go to law* one with another, in actions of debt, or damage, one towards another, in name or estate; but to end all such controversies, amongst ourselves, by arbitration, or otherwise, except in cases capital or criminal, that some may not go unpunished; or that the matter be above our ability to judge of, and that it be with the consent of the Plantation, or selectmen thereof."

Each subscriber engaged to pay ten shillings towards the purchase money, due to the Indians, &c. That the population might not be too much scattered, the first division of land was made on the principle of equality to rich and poor: but the second, and subsequent divisions, were according to the value of each man's property. Every person was put down at ten pounds, and his estate estimated according to its value. They reserved to the plantation the right of conferring gifts of land on such individuals as they might see fit, as occasion might offer. These covenants were subscribed at different times during the few first years, as follows, viz:

Edward Breck,(a) } "I subscribe to this for myself, and for my son Robert, save that it is agreed, we are not bound to come up to inhabit within a years time, in our own persons."
Robert Breck, }

John Prescott,
William Kerley,(b)
Thomas Sawyer,(c)
Ralph Houghton,(d) } Subscribed first.

John Whitcomb (e) }
Jno. Whitcomb, Jr. } 20, 9 mo. 1652.

Richard Linton,(f) }
John Johnson,(g) } 4, 9 mo. 1654.
Jeremiah Rogers, }

John Moore,(h) 11, 1 mo. 1653.

* Thomas Lechford, the earliest Lawyer in New England, came to Boston, and resided there from 1637 to 1641. Though he wrote himself of "Clement's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman," he had but little professional business. He seemed to be looked upon as rather a useless appendage to society, under the Theocracy. In his "Plain dealing," a rare, and curious pamphlet, he observes, that he had but little to do for a livelihood except "to write petty things." He fell under some censure, returned to England, irritated with the colonists, and published his pamphlet, containing, I sincerely believe, many truths. Certainly it is far from deserving the bad character, that was attributed to it by our ancestors. There were some of the profession in N. E. when this town was incorporated, but they were probably not men of much talent or acquirements; else, their names, at least, would have reached this day. In 1654, a law was passed, prohibiting any usual or common attorney, in any inferior court, from sitting as a deputy, in the general court.

William Lewis,(*i*)
John Lewis, } 1, 31 mo. 1653.

Thomas James, 21, 3 mo. 1653.

Edmund Parker,
Benjamin Twitchell,
Anthony Newton,(*j*) } 1, 8 mo. 1652.

Stephen Day,(*k*)
James Atherton,(*l*)
Henry Kerley,(*m*)
Richard Smith,(*n*)
William Kerley, Jr.(*o*)
John Smith,(*p*) } 15, 1 mo. 1653.

Lawrence Waters,(*q*) } Between March and May, 1653, probably.

John White,(*r*) 1 May 1653.

John Farrar,
Jacob Farrar, (*s*) } 24 Sept. 1653.

John Houghton,
Samuel Dean, } Sept. 24, 1653.

James Draper,
Stephen Gates, sen'r. } April 3, 1654.

James Whiting or Witton, April 7, 1654.

Jno. Moore,
Edward Rigby,
John Mansfield, } April 13, 1654.

John Towers,
Richard Dwelley,
Henry Ward, } April 18, 1654.

John Pierce,
William Billings, } 4, 7 mo. 1654.

Richard Sutton, April, 1653.

Thomas Joslin,
Nathaniel Joslin,(*t*) } 12, 9 mo. 1654.

John Rugg, 12, 12 mo. 1654.

Joseph Rowlandson,(*u*) 12, 12 mo. 1654.—And it is agreed by the town, that he shall have 20 acres of upland, and 40 acres of intervale, in the Knight Pasture.

John Rigby, 12, 12 mo. 1654.

John Roper, (*v*) 22, 1 mo. 1656.

John Tinker, (*w*) Feb. 1, 1657.

Mordecai McLoad, (*x*) March 1, 1658.

Jonas Fairbanks,(*y*) March 7, 1659.

Roger Sumner, (*z*) April 11, 1659.

Gamaliel Beman, May 31, 1659.

Thomas Wilder, (*aa*) July 1, 1659.

Daniel Gaines,(*bb*) March 10, 1660.

1654. By the following spring, there were twenty families in the place; and the inhabitants feeling competent to manage their own affairs, presented a petition to the General Court, that

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF NAMES.

(*a*)The Brecks were probably of Dorchester. The Rev. Robert Breck of Marlborough, a distinguished clergymen, who died Jan. 7, 1731, may have been of this race. There were Brecks, early in Boston. John Dunton in his "Life and errors" 1686, speaks of Madam Brick (Breck) as the "flower of Boston," for beauty. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 108.

(*b*)William Kerley, senior, was from Sudbury; I find him there, in Nov. 1652. After the death of his wife, Ann, in March, 1658, he married Bridget Rowlandson, the mother, I think, of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, in May, 1659. She died in June, 1662. He or his son William, probably the former, married Rebecca Joslin, widow of Thomas Joslin, May, 1664. He died in July, 1670. He was one of the proprietors of Marlboro' in 1660. I find many years after, this name spelt Carley.

(*c*)Thomas and Mary Sawyer, had divers children, viz:—Thomas born July, 1649, and was married to Sarah, his wife, Oct. 1670.—Mary, their daughter, born Jan. 7, 1672 (N.S.)—Ephraim, born Jan. 7, 1651, (N.S.) killed by the Indians, at Prescotts' garrison, Feb. 1676.—Mary, born Jan. 7, 1653, (N.S.)—Elizabeth, born Jan. 7, 1654, (N.S.)—Joshua, born March, 1655, (N.S.)—James, born March, 1657, (N.S.)—Caleb, born April, 1659, (N.S.)—John, born April, 1661, (N.S.)—Nathaniel, born Nov. 1670, (N.S.) Thomas, I think the father, was again married Nov. 1672.

From this stock there are numerous descendants in Lancaster, Sterling, Bolton, &c.

(*d*)Ralph Houghton came to this country not long before the town was incorporated, in company with his cousin, John Houghton, father of John Houghton Esq. usually called Justice Houghton, who will be mentioned more particularly by and by. Ralph, and John, senior, first lived in Watertown; Ralph early moved to Lancaster. John probably came up at the same time. When the town was destroyed, in 1676, they went to Woburn, where they lived till the town was rebuilt. Ralph was clerk or recorder as early as 1656 and for many years, and was quite a skillful penman. A single leaf of the original volume of Records in his hand writing, is in existence. It was found amongst the papers of the late Hezekiah Gates.

(*e*)Died, Sept. 1662.

(*f*)Linton was of Watertown in 1646. He died, March, 1665. George Bennett, who was killed by the Indians, Aug. 22, 1675, was his grandson.

(*g*)One of the same name is mentioned as one of the proprietors of Marlborough, 1657.

(*h*)John Moore was of Sudbury in 1649. Married John Smith's daughter, Anna, Nov. 1654, and left a son, John, born April, 1662, and other children.

(*i*) Wm. Lewis, was probably of Cambridge, He died, Dec. 1671.

(*j*) One of that name, and I suppose the same person, was a member of Dorchester Church, in April, 1678, and was dismissed with others, to form a church in Milton. This was while Lancaster remained uninhabited, after its destruction, by the Indians. 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 194.

(*k*) An account of Day will be found in a preceding note.

(*l*) Of his children, were James, born 13 May, 1654.—Joshua, 13 May, 1656.—His wife's name was Hannah.

(*m*) Henry Kerley must have been the son of William Kerley, senior. He married Elizabeth White, sister to Mrs. Rowlandson, Nov. 1654. His children were, Henry, born Jan. 1658, (N.S.)—William, Jan. 1659, (N.S.) and killed by the Indians at the destruction of the town.—Hannah, July,

the power, which was given to the six individuals, the year before, to manage the affairs of the town, might be transferred to the town, and the inhabitants in general; one of the six being dead, another having removed, and some of the remainder being desirous to re-

NOTES TO PAGE 280.

1663—Mary, Oct. 1666.—Joseph, March, 1669, and killed with William.—Martha, Dec. 1672.—Henry, the son, married Elizabeth How, in Charlestown, April, 1676, where they probably retreated, after the town was laid waste.—The Kerleys did not return after their settlement, it would seem; but went to Marlborough where Capt. Kerley owned land. In the pamphlet entitled "Revolution in New England justified," printed 1691, he gives his deposition relating to Sir Edmund Andross' passing through that town in 1688, who demanded of Kerley "by what order they garrisoned and fortified their houses." Kerley was then 57 years old. The one mentioned by Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, (ante p. 154) was probably Henry, the son.—There is a tradition of Capt. Kerley, who married Mrs. Rowlandson's sister; that he had sundry little passages with a damsel, in the way of differences. On one of these occasions, after they were published, he pulled up the post, on which the publishment, as it is called, was placed, and cast it into the river; but, like all true lovers, they soon healed up their quarrels, and were married.

(*n*) The name of Smith was early, so common that I cannot trace individuals of the name.

(*o*) A son, I think, of Wm. Kerley, Senr. He was of Sudbury, in 1652. One of the same name was of Sudbury, in 1672, and of Cambridge, in 1683.

(*p*) John Smith died, July, 1669.

(*q*) Waters was of Watertown, 1635–1638–1646, married Anna, daughter of Richard Linton. His children were, Joseph, Jacob, Rachel and Ephraim.

(*r*) There were some three or four of this name, early in New England. This one probably came from Weymouth. In March, 1658, at a meeting of the town, all the orders of the Selectmen passed, except that of Goodman White, which was rejected "because he feared not to speak in his own cause."

(*s*) Killed by the Indians, August 22, 1675. His grandchildren, Jacob, George, John and Henry, lived in Concord. They sold all their grandfather's land in Lancaster, to their uncle, John Houghton, Esq. Oct. 1697.

(*t*) He had a son Nathaniel, born June, 1658.

(*u*) What is known of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson and family, will be related in the sequel.

(*v*) Roper was killed by the Indians, six weeks after the attack of Feb. 1676, and the very day that the inhabitants withdrew from town.

(*w*) I find master John Tinker's name in Boston records, in 1652. He was Clerk and Selectman for sometime, and his chirography was very neat. In 1659, he moved to "Pequid."

(*x*) He was killed, with his wife, and two children, Aug. 22, 1675, by the Indians.

(*y*) Jonas Fairbanks was killed by the Indians, when they destroyed the the town, in Feb. 1676. His son Joshua, born April, 1661, was killed at the same time.

(*z*) "1660, Aug. 26. Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other christians, at Lancaster, a Church might be begun there." Church records of Dorchester, 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 192. He married a daughter of Thomas Joslin; as I find he is called son-in-law to the widow Rebecca Joslin, who was wife to Thomas.

(*aa*) He spelt his name, "Wyelder:" further accounts of this family, will be found in the sequel.

(*bb*) Killed by the Indians, Feb. 1676.

linquish their power.* They further requested, that the Court would appoint some one or more to lay out the bounds of the town. They say, they shall be well satisfied, if the Court will grant seven men out of ten, whose names they mention, to order their municipal concerns; and that afterwards, it shall be lawful to make their own elections, &c. This petition was signed by the townsmen, to whom the General Court on the 10th of May, 1654, returned a favourable answer, granting them the full liberties of a township, and appointed Lieut. Goodnough,† and Thomas Danforth, a committee to lay out the bounds. I cannot find that any survey was made in pursuance of this order, nor, at any time, till 1659, as will be mentioned below.

The first town meeting on record, was held, in the summer of 1654, probably soon after the petition, I have just mentioned, was granted. The doings of the Committee were then confirmed and at a subsequent meeting, which is not dated, but must have been early in 1655, it was voted not to take into the town above thirty five families: and the names of twenty five individuals are signed, who are to be considered as townsmen. They are as follows, viz. Edward Breck, Master Joseph Rowlandson, John Prescott, William Kerley, senior, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb, and John Whitcomb, Jr. Richard Linton, John Johnson, John Moore, William, and John Lewis, Thomas James, Edmund Parker, James Atherton, Henry Kerley, Richard Smith, William Kerley, Jr. John Smith, Lawrence Waters, John White, John, and Jacob Farrar, John Rugg. Many of these names still abound in Lancaster and the vicinity.

The first highway, out of town, was probably laid out in 1653, according to the direction of the General Court, from Lancaster to Sudbury; and for many years this was the principal route to Boston.

A highway to Concord, was laid out in the spring of 1656. It commenced near Prescotts', in what is now called New Boston, thence by the then parsonage, which was a little N. E. of Rev. Dr. Thayer's, and over the river some 15 or 20 rods above the present bridge, then passing over the south end of the neck, and crossing Penecook river,‡ in the general direction of the travelled road, till

* Nathaniel Hadock and Edwin Breck. Hadlock was the one that died.

† Goodinow, as Johnson spells it, was of Sudbury. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 55. For Danforth, see note, post.

‡ It crossed at the wading place of the Penecook, to the east of what was afterwards called the Neck bridge.

within a few years, and extending over Wataquodoc hill in Bolton. This road, I find afterwards in the proprietor's books as beginning at Wataquodoc hill, passing the Penecook, and North Rivers, by "Master Rowlandson's house, and fenced, marked, and staked up to Goodman Prescotts' rye field; and so between John Moore's lot and across the brook, &c.—and so beyond all the lots into the woods." The present roads on the east and west side of the neck, were probably laid out as early as 1654. The latter extended as far to the N. W. as Quassaponiken.

In 1657, the good people of Nashaway, found that they were unable to manage their town affairs satisfactorily to themselves, in public town meetings, "by reason," they say, "of many inconveniences, and incumbrances, which we find that way; nor by select men by reason of the scarcity of freeemen,* being but three in number." It therefore repented them of the former petition, which I have mentioned, and they besought the General Court, to appoint a committee, (to use the language of the request) "to put us into such a way of order, as we are capable of, or any other way which the Honored Court may judge safest and best, &c. till the committee make return that the town is able to manage its own affairs." This request was granted, May 6th, of the same year, and Messrs. Simon Willard,† Edward Johnson,‡ and Thomas Danforth§ were appointed commissioners.

* At the first session of the General Court, in the colony of Massachusetts, May, 1631, it was ordered "that no man should be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches, within the limits of this jurisdiction." And this was the law till 1664. None but freemen were allowed to hold any office.

† Major Willard came to this country from the County of Kent, in 1635, at the same time, I think, with the Rev. Peter Bulkley, a distinguished clergyman of Concord. He was one of the original purchasers from the Indians of Musketaquid, afterwards called Concord. He resided there many years. The town was incorporated, Sept. 1635, and he was the deputy or Representative from the spring following, till 1654, with the omission only of one year. In 1654, he was chosen one of the Court of Assistants, and was annually re-chosen till the time of his death. He died in Charlestown, April 24, (O. S.) 1676. This Court was the upper branch of the General Court, the Court of Probate, a Court for Capital and other trials of importance; and with power to hear petitions, decree divorces, &c. The members, were magistrates throughout the Colony, and held the County Courts, the powers of which extended to all civil causes, and criminal, excepting life, member, banishment and divorces.

‡ Johnson was of Woburn, and came from the County of Kent. He was the author of "Wonder working Providence of Zion's Savior, in New England;" a very singular, curious, and enthusiastic work.

§ Danforth lived in Cambridge. He was distinguished in the early history of Massachusetts; some time one of the assistants, and Deputy Governor.

These Commissioners were instructed to hear and determine the several differences and grievances which "obstruct the present and future good of the town" &c. and were to continue in office till they could report the town to be of sufficient ability to manage its own affairs.

The Commissioners appointed in September of the same year, were, master John Tinker, Wm. Kerley, sen'r, Jno. Prescott, Ralph Houghton, and Thomas Sawyer, to superintend the municipal concerns with power to make all necessary rates and levies, to erect "a meeting house, pound and stocks," three things that were then as necessary to constitute a village, as, according to Knickerbocker, a "meeting house, tavern and blacksmith's shop" are, at the present day. None were to be permitted to take up their residence in town, or be entertained therein, unless by consent of the selectmen, and any coming without such consent, on record, and persons entertaining them, were each subject to a penalty of twenty shillings per month. However much we may be inclined to smile at the last regulation, something of the kind probably was necessary in the early state of society, and especially in so remote a plantation as that of Nashaway, to exclude the idle and unprincipled; not only strong hands but stout hearts, sobriety of character, and patriotism, properly so called, were needed to sustain and advance the interest of the town. Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement. The commissioners directed further, that lands should be reserved for "the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men, to take up their residence in the town."

Early attention was paid by the town to its water privileges. In Nov. 1653, John Prescott received a grant of land of the inhabitants, on condition that he would build a "corn mill." By a memorandum in Middlesex Records, it appears, that he finished the mill and began to grind corn, the following spring, 23, 3 mo. 1654. A saw mill followed in a few years, according to the records of the proprietaries; where I find that "in November 1658, at a training, a motion was made by Goodman Prescott, about setting up a saw

He was one of the few who dared to oppose openly, the witchcraft delusion. Gov. Bradstreet, President Increase Mather, and Samuel Willard, son of Major W. minister in Boston, and afterwards V. Pres. of the College, were almost the only leading men who withstood the mighty torrent.

mill; and the town voted that if he should erect one, he should have the grant of certain priveleges, and a large tract of land lying near his mill for him and his posterity forever; and to be more exactly recorded, when exactly known."

In consideration of these provisions, Goodman Prescott forthwith erected his mill. This was on the spot, where the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company have extensive and profitable works under the superintendence of Messrs. Poignand & Plant. I mention these mills, the more particularly, as they were many years before any of the kind in the present County of Worcester. People came from Sudbury to Prescotts' grist mill. The stone of this mill was brought from England, and is now in the vicinity of the Factory*, in fragments.

There were no bridges in town till 1659. In January of that year (3. 11 mo. 1658) it is recorded that "the Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, that they that are on the neck of land do make a cart bridge over the north river† by Goodman Water's, and they on the south end, do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place‡ at their own expense."

These two bridges were supported in this way, eleven years. In February 1670, it was voted, that the bridges should be a town charge from the second day of that month, (1669, O. S.) only, it was ordered, that if the town should think it "for the safety of north bridge, that the cages be put down, that then they shall be set down upon the Neck's charge, the first convenient opportunity." There is reason to believe that no bridge was built over the Penecook, or Main river, till after the re-settlement of the town in 1679 and 80.§ The "Great bridge by the Knight pasture," (the same as the Neck bridge,) a little to the east of the present centre bridge is spoken of in 1729, and a vote was passed in 1736, to repair this bridge. The road that I have before mentioned from Bolton, across the Penecook, and "staked up to Goodman Prescott's rye field," was laid out in the spring of 1656. But I assert with confidence, that no bridge was there as early as 1671. From 1671 to 1675, it is by no means probable that the inhabitants were in a situation to

* This rests on information received from Mr. Jonathan Wilder, of this town, a high authority in traditionary lore. Mrs. Wilder is a descendant, in direct line from John Prescott.

† This was near the residence of the late Judge Sprague.

‡ This was on the south branch, near the present mill bridge.

§ The remark, relative to the bridge in the first volume of Worcester Magazine, p. 284, in note, is incorrect.

support three bridges,* and after that time, Metacomet's war left neither opportunity nor means, to pay attention to any thing but self-defence.†

1658. The Selectmen met in January following their appointment, and ordered the inhabitants to bring in a perfect list of their lands—the quality, quantity, bounds, &c. that they might be recorded, to prevent future differences, by reason of mistake or forgetfulness. In the course of the year, finding their authority insufficient to manage the municipal concerns of the town, they presented a petition to the commissioners, in which they say "the Lord has succeeded our endeavors to the "settling," we hope, of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town is, in some sort, at last, in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the "boilings and breakings forth" of some persons, difficult to please, and some petty differences will arise amongst us, provide what we can to the contrary," and that unless they have further power given them, what they possess is a "sword tool, and no edge."

The Commissioners, then in Boston, explained to the Selectmen the extent of their powers, and authorized them to impose penalties in certain cases, for breach of orders, to make divisions of land, to appoint persons to hear and end small causes, under forty shillings, and present them to the County Court for allowance, &c. This increase of power, probably answered the purpose, so long as the management of affairs pertained to the Commissioners, and till it returned to the inhabitants of the town, at their general meetings.

As was before observed, although a committee had been appointed for that purpose some years before, it does not appear that the boundaries of the town were surveyed and marked before 1659. At that time, Thomas Noyes was appointed to that service, by the General Court, and the selectmen voted that when "Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, Goodman Prescott do go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb, and young Jacob Farrar, to carry the chain," &c. provided "that a bargain be first made between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains." Noyes made his return 7th April, of that year

* There was a wading place over the Penecook.—See note ante.

† Since the above was written, I have ascertained satisfactorily, that the Neck bridge was built, 1718. The vote to build, was March 10, 1713—and to be finished by the first of August following. In the vote, it was ordered, "that the bridge have five trussells, and to be a foot higher than before." It would seem then, that this was not the first bridge over the principal stream.

as follows, viz.: beginning at the wading place of Nashaway* river, thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree West, and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. East, one degree North, and another S. S. West, one degree South. At the end of the ten miles, making eight angles, and running at the north end, a line of eight miles, and at the south, six miles and a half, in the direction E. S. East, one degree East, then connecting the extremes of these two lines, finished the fourth side, making in shape a trapezoid. Four miles of the S. East part of the line, bounded on Whipsufferage† plantation, that was granted to Sudbury, now included in Berlin, Bolton and Marlborough. The return of Mr. Noyes was accepted by the Court, provided a farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the Country's use, in some place not already appropriated.‡

The town, which for a number of years, had labored under the many disadvantages incident to new plantations, increased, perhaps, by being quite remote from other settlements, now began to acquire somewhat of municipal weight and importance. It was becoming a place, to which the enterprising colonists were attracted by its natural beauties, its uncommon facility of cultivation, and by the mild and friendly character of the natives in the vicinity. The selectmen, therefore, in July, 1659, found it necessary to repeal the foolish order of 1654, by which the number of Inhabitants was limited to 35. Their eyes being opened, they conceived it to be most for the good of the town, "that so many Inhabitants be admitted, as may be meetly accommodated, provided they are such, as are acceptable; and that admittance be granted to so many, as shall stand with the description of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance according to the Commissionary acceptance."

1663, the town also began to feel sufficient strength to regulate the affairs of the Corporation by regular town meetings. The selectmen were willing, and in a letter expressed to the town "that there was not such a loving concurrence as they could desire," in their proceedings, and go on to observe, that if their labors in endeavoring to procure the town liberty to choose its own officers be

* This it will be recollected was the South branch, and near the present mill bridge by Samuel Carter's mills. The main stream was invariably called Penecook.

† This is the English name. Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, in which he discovers the true spirit of the antiquary, says, that the Indian word is Whippsuppenike. See Worcester Magazine for July, 1826, p. 134.

‡ The tradition is, that it was laid out in the south part of the town, and included a very poor tract of land.

of use they desire to bless God for it; but if not, they desire not to create trouble to themselves, and grief for their loving brethren and neighbors," &c. &c. The town confirmed the doings of the selectmen, and petitioned the Commissioners early in the year 1665, to restore the full privileges to the town. The answer of the Commissioners is, in part, as follows—

"*Gentlemen and loving friends.*

"We do with much thankfulness to the Lord acknowledge his favor to yourselves, and not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people, and children, in your loving compliance together; that this may be continued is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity, contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord, and to you, and for that end, do fully concur, and consent to your proposals, for the ratifying of what is, and for liberty among yourselves, observing the laws and the directions of the General Court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

SIMON WILLARD,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
EDWARD JOHNSON.

Dated, 8th 1 mo. 1664."

The town was soon after relieved from the inconveniences and embarrassments of having its affairs directed by gentlemen residing at a distance, and, in future, sustained its new duties, without further assistance from the General Court.

A highway was soon after laid out to Groton, passing over the intervale to Still river hill, in Harvard, thence to Groton in a very circuitous course.

In 1669, an order was passed establishing the first Monday in February, at ten o'clock A. M. for the annual town meetings, and obliging every inhabitant, to attend, under penalty of two shillings unless having a good excuse. The limited population, rendered necessary the sanction of all qualified persons, to the municipal proceedings.

The affairs of the town seem to have proceeded with tolerable quiet for more than twenty years from the first settlement, till 1674. The population had increased quite rapidly and was spread over a large part of the township. The Indians were inclined to peace, and, in various ways, were of service to the Inhabitants. But this happy state of things was not destined to continue. The day of deep and long continued distress was at hand. The natives with

whom they had lived on terms of mutual good will, were soon to become their bitter enemies: desolation was to spread over the fair inheritance: fire and the tomahawk, torture and death, were soon to be busy in annihilating all the comforts of domestic life.

The tribe of the Nashaways, when the country was first settled, was under the chief Sachem of the Massachusetts. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, says, "they have been a great people in former times; but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas* wars, and other ways, and are now not above fifteen or sixteen families.†" He probably referred to the setttlement at Washacum alone.—There were Indians in various parts of the town at that time; in fact so large a part of the tribe, as would, perhaps, swell the whole number to twenty five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty persons. This miserable remnant, that was rapidly wasting way by intemperance, which, at this day, destroys its thousands, was under the influence of the master spirit, Philip. Whilst Gookin, with Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmucks, was at Pakachoog, in Sept. 1674, he sent Jethro‡ of Natick, one of the most distinguished of the converted Indians, who, in general, made but sorry christians, to Nashaway, to preach to his countrymen, whom Eliot had never visited. One of the tribe happened to be present at the Court, and declared "that he was desirously willing as well as some other of his people to pray to God: but that there were sundry of that people very wicked, and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed amongst them;" and he intreated Gookin to put forth his power, to suppress this vice. He was asked, "whether he would take upon him the office of constable, and receive power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strength from them, and bring the delinquents before the court to receive punishment." Probably apprehending some difficulty from his brethren, if he should accept the appointment at the time, he answered, "that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, he would come for a black staff and power."

It is not known that Jethro's exhortations produced any effect.

* A fierce tribe residing about fifty miles beyond Albany and towards the lakes.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 193.

‡ Gookin gave Jethro a letter directed to the Indians, exhorting them to keep the sabbath and to abstain from drunkenness, powowing, &c. At this time and for many years after Gookin was superintendant of all the Indians under the government of Massachusetts.

The conspiracy that in the following summer lighted up the flames of war, was secretly spreading, and but little opportunity existed, to improve the condition of the Nashaways. At this time, Sagamore Shoshanim* was at the head of the tribe. He possessed, it appears, a hostile feeling, and a vindictive spirit against the English. He joined heart and hand in the measures of Philip. He probably engaged early in the war, and took an active part in the attack upon his former friends. James Quanapaug, who was sent out by the English, as a spy, in Jan. 1676, (N. S.) relates that Shoshanim was out with the hostile Indians in the neighborhood of Mennimesseg, about 20 miles north of the Connecticut path. Robert Pepper was his prisoner. Philip was in the neighborhood of Fort Aurania, (Albany) and was probably on his return to Mennimesseg. This circumstance, taken in connection with the positive declaration of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in his Century Sermon, and the frequent mention made of him by Mrs. Rowlandson, shows pretty conclusively that he had the powerful force that overwhelmed Lancaster. I find in a scarce pamphlet, entitled a "Brief and true Narrative of the late wars risen in New England," printed late in 1675, that the report was current, that Philip had "fled to the French at Canada for succor." And Cotton Mather says, that the French from Canada sent recruits to aid in the war. Philip probably returned early in the winter with the recruits. Whilst Quanapaug was at Mennimesseg, one eyed John,† (an Indian every whit,) told him that in about twenty days from the Wednesday preceding, "they were to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first thing they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."‡ The war broke out in June, 1675, by an attack upon Swansey, as I should have stated before. On the 22nd day of August, the same summer, eight persons were killed in Lancaster.§ On the 10th (O. S.) of February following, early in the morning, the Wamponoags, led by Philip, accompanied by the Narrhagansetts, his allies, and also by the Nip-

* Sam was his name in the vernacular. He succeeded Matthew, who, as Mr. Harrington relates, always conducted himself well towards the English, as did his predecessor, Sholan. Shoshamin, after the war, was executed at Boston. See post.

† Or John Monoco.

‡ I. Mass. Hist. Col. I. 206, 207 and 208.

§ George Bennett, a grandson of Richard Linton; William Flagg; Jacob Farrar; Joseph Wheeler; Mordacai McLoad, his wife, and two children.

mucs and Nashaways, whom his artful eloquence had persuaded to join with him, made a desperate attack upon Lancaster. His forces consisted of 1500* men, who invested the town "in five distinct bodies and places."† There were at that time more than fifty families in Lancaster. After killing a number of persons in different parts of the town, they directed their course to the house‡ of Mr. Rowlandson, the clergyman of the place. The house was pleasantly situated on the brow of a small hill, commanding a fine view of the valley of the north branch of the river, and the ampitheatre of hills to the west, north and east. It was filled with soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty two, and was guarded only in front, not like the other garrisons, with flankers at the opposite angles.§— "Quickly" says Mrs. Rowlandson "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended with determined bravery upwards of two hours. The enemy, after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustable matter, and approached in the rear, where there was no fortification. In this way, the house was soon enveloped in flames. The inhabitants finding further resistance useless were compelled at length to surrender, to avoid perishing in the ruins of the building.‖ No other garrison was destroyed but that of Mr. Rowlandson. One man only escaped.** The rest twelve in number,†† were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Of

* Hutchinson says several hundred. I have taken the number given by Mr. Harrington, who says it was confessed by the Indians themselves after the peace:

† I can ascertain but three of these places, viz. Wheeler's garrison, at Wataquodoc hill, now S. West part of Bolton. Here they killed Jonas and Joshua Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler. Wheeler had been in town about 15 years. The second was Prescott's garrison, near Poignard & Plant's Manufactory. Ephraim Sawyer was killed here; and Henry Farrar and (John?) Ball and his wife in other places. The third was Mr. Rowlandson's.

‡ This house was about one third of a mile south west of the Church.— The cellar was filled up only a few years since. Where the garden was, are a number of very aged trees, more or less decayed. These, I doubt not, date back to the time of Mr. Rowlandson.

§ So says Harrington. But Hubbard relates that the "fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a leanto." Edition 1677.

‖ On the authority of Hubbard, I state, that the Indians destroyed about one half of the buildings.

** Ephraim Roper.

†† Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, Josiah Divoll. Instead of giving the twelfth name, Mr. Harrington puts down "&c." The name therefore must rest, in nubibus.

the slain, Thomas Rowlandson was brother to the clergyman; Mrs. Kerley was wife of Capt. Henry Kerley, and sister to Mrs. Rowlandson;* Wm. Kerley, Jr. I think, may have been Henry's brother, and Joseph his child: I do not venture, however, to give this as a historical fact. Mrs. Drew,† another sister, was of the captives. Mrs. Kerley, and Ephraim Roper's wife were killed in attempting to escape.

Different accounts vary in the number of the slain, and the captives. At least there were fifty persons, and one writer says, fifty five.‡ Nearly half of these suffered death.§ No less than seventeen of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's family, and connexions, were put to death or taken prisoners. He, at that time, with Capt. Kerley, and Mr. Drew, was at Boston soliciting military aid from Gov. Leverett and the council. The anguish they felt on their return, is not to be described. Their dwellings had been destroyed: the wife of one was buried in the ruins, the wives of the two others, were in the power of the savages, threading their way, through the trackless forest in the midst of winter; with no comforts to supply their necessities, no friends to cheer them, and nothing but the unmingled dread of a hopeless captivity in prospect. Mrs. Rowlandson was taken by a Narrhagansett Indian, and sold to Quannopin, a Sagamore, and connected with Philip by marriage; their squaws being sisters. Mrs. Rowlandson's sister, was taken, it would seem by Shoshanim.‖

* Mrs. Rowlandson was Mary, daughter of Mr. White, probably John White, who was the richest man in town in 1653. Henry Kerley married Elizabeth.

† This name is inserted on the authority of "News from New-England:" a pamphlet relating to Philip's war, published in 1676. I have not met with the name elsewhere.

‡ "News from New England."

§ Abraham Joslin's wife was a captive. In the neighborhood of Payquaoge (Miller's river,) being near the time of her confinement, the Indians became enraged at her frequent solicitations for liberty to return home, and cast her into the flames with a young child in her arms, two years old. Of those of the Nashaway tribe of Indians who survived the war, a part moved to Albany, and the rest to Penecook, one of the New Hampshire tribes; with this tribe they incorporated. There have been Indians residing in town, within the memory of some of the present inhabitants; they were wanderers from other places, and not descendents of the Nashaways.

‖ Mrs. Rowlandson during her captivity was separated from her sister.—At one time when they were near, the Indian, Mrs. Drew's master, would not suffer her to visit Mrs. Rowlandson, and the latter in her "removes" remarks with much apparent comfort, that "the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian was hanged afterwards at Boston." This was Sept. 26, 1676. The Sagamore of Quoboag, and old Jethro, were executed at the same time, at the town's end. Hubbard, Edition 1677.

The Indians made great plunder in various parts of the town. They were forced, however, to retreat on the appearance of Capt. Wadsworth,* who, hearing of the distressed situation of the town, immediately marched from Marlborough, where he was stationed, with forty men. The Indians had removed the planks from the bridge to prevent the passage of horsemen, the river at the time being much swollen, and had prepared an ambush for the foot soldiers, but fortunately withdrew from that spot, before the arrival of the soldiers. Wadsworth stationed his men in different parts of the town, and remained there for some days. Before his departure, he lost one of his men, George Harrington, by the Indians.

But the alarm of the Inhabitants was so great, and such was the general insecurity of the border towns, in the then unsettled state of the Country, that when the troops withdrew, about six weeks afterwards, the rest of the inhabitants left under their protection, after destroying all the houses, but two.† The return of peace on the death of Philip, in August, 1676, did not restore their courage and confidence. For more than three years, Lancaster remained without an inhabitant. In Oct. 1679, a committee was appointed by the County Court, under a law then in force, to rebuild the town.‡ It is probable that the resettlement took place in the spring of 1680.§ No record exists by which the precise time or mode can be discovered. Some interest naturally attaches to this era, as the whole work of building up the town was to be again undertaken. Some of the first planters, or their children, who were still living, returned accompanied by others. Of the former, were the Prescotts, Houghtons, Sawyers, Wilders, &c. The Carters, a name now

* Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, a brave soldier and valuable man. He was killed on the 18th of April following, in a severe battle with the Indians at Sudbury. A monument over his grave, on the spot where he fell, was erected by his son, Rev. President Wadsworth of Harvard College.

† The house of public worship, was not destroyed by the Indians at this time. The French, according to James Quanapaug, before the commencement of the winter campaign "bid them that they should not destroy meeting houses, for there, God was worshipped." John Roper was killed the very day that the Inhabitants withdrew.

‡ Oct. 7, 1679. The committee consisted of Capt. Thomas Prentice, Deacon John Stone, and William Bond. Prentice, was a distinguished cavalry officer in Philip's war. Mass. Hist. Col. Vol. V. p. 270, I.

§ To avoid the charge of plagiarism, perhaps it should be stated, that the account of the destruction of Lancaster, excepting what was taken from Mr. Harrington, was extracted principally from an anonymous article, written by the compiler, and published in the New Hampshire Historical and Miscellaneous Collections for April and May, 1824; and another, in the Worcester Magazine, for Feb. 1826. Harrington took most of his account from Hubbard.

quite prevalent, came in soon after the restoration. A number of brothers of that family, came from Woburn,* and took up their residence on George hill, where, and in other parts of the town, many of their descendants still live.

Under the numerous inconveniences, hardships and dangers of a new settlement, it is not to be supposed that the wealth or population of the town, for some years, increased with much rapidity. In 1681 and 1682, in consequence of these things, and of the exposed situation of the town, on the confines of civilization, an exemption was granted from the County rates. In 1694, 20 pounds of the public taxes were allowed to the town, in consideration of its "frontier situation."

The civil history of Lancaster from 1680 to 1724, excepting what is preserved by Mr. Harrington, is, I fear, irretrievably lost. I regret this the more, from the circumstance stated above; and in common with others, have to lament, that Mr. Harrington, who preserved so much, did not preserve much more. Private documents of various kinds, and important in this respect, which were then doubtless numerous, have since been lost by lapse of time, or destroyed through ignorance of their value. Tradition was then fresh and distinct; and, more than all, the original volume of records containing a complete *sequence of events* from the first settlement in the valley of the Nashaway to the year 1724, was then in existence. What progress therefore the town made in popula

* Thomas Carter, first minister of Woburn, came to this country in 1635. I find also one of that name, the same person, there is reason to suppose, who took the freeman's oath on the 2nd 3 mo., 1638. In 1642, Woburn was taken from Charlestown, and made a distinct town. There were no officers or members of the Church, capable of ordaining Mr. Carter, and they feared to invite the elders of the other churches to perform the service, as it might savour of dependency, and Presbytery; so that at last it was performed by two of their own members. "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church and people." Hubbard says "it was not to the satisfaction of the magistrates, and ministers present."

In consequence, it soon became common to invite the neighboring elders to perform the services of ordination. Hubbard, 408.

Johnson remarks that the people of Woburn, "after some search, met with a young man named Mr. Thomas Carter, then belonging to the church of Christ at Watertown; a reverend, godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ." &c. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 40–42.

Mr. Carter was one of those mentioned by Cotton Mather, "young scholars whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels." Magnalia, B. III.

This Thomas Carter was the ancestor of all of the name of Carter now in Lancaster. They propably migrated to Nashaway soon after the town was rebuilt.

tion and wealth for thirty years after its resettlement is unknown. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, it is fair to suppose, from the assistance afforded by the General Court, and from the long continuance of the Indian wars, that its progress was slow and interrupted. In the mean time the measure of the sufferings of Lancaster was not yet full. The war that was rekindled between France and England on the accession of William, of Orange, to the throne, extended to his transatlantic provinces. In the 18th (O. S.) July, 1692, a party of the Indians attacked the house of Peter Joslin, and murdered his wife, three children, and a widow by the name of Whitcomb, who resided in the family. Joslin himself, at the time, was at work in the field, and knew nothing of the terrible calamity that had befallen him, till his return home. Elizabeth How his wife's sister was taken captive, but was afterwards returned. Another child of his was put to death by the enemy in the wilderness. In 1695, on a Sunday morning, Abraham Wheeler returning from garrison to his own house, was shot by the enemy lying in ambush. No further injury was done till 1697, when they entered the town under five leaders, with an intention, after ascertaining the situation of affairs, to commence their attack on Thomas Sawyer's* garrison. It was by the merest accident, that they were deterred from their plan. The gates of Sawyer's garrison were open. A Mr. Jabez Fairbanks, who lived at some distance, mounted his horse, that came running towards him much frightened, rode rapidly to the garrison, though without suspicion, for the purpose of carrying away his son, who was there.—The enemy supposing they were discovered, being just ready to rush into the garrison, relinquished their design, and on retreating, fired upon the inhabitants at work in the fields. At no time, however, excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost. They met with the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting,† at a distance from his garrison, and offered him quarter, which he rejected with boldness, and fought to the last against the cruel foe. After this they killed twenty others;‡ wounded two more, who afterwards recovered, and took

* This was the first planter, or his eldest son; probably the latter.

† A more particular notice will be taken of Mr. Whiting, in the Ecclesiastical sketches.

‡ Daniel Hudson, his wife and two daughters. Hudson, first moved to Lancaster, in 1664. He was originally of Watertown. Ephraim Roper, his wife and daughter, John Skait, and wife, Joseph Rugg, wife and three children, Widow Rugg, Jonathan Fairbanks and two children, and two children of Nathaniel Hudson. Harrington's Sermon.

six captives,* five of whom in the end, returned to Lancaster. This sad calamity sweeping off so large a part of their population called for some religious observance, and a day of fasting and prayer was set apart for the purpose. The restoration of peace, in Europe, brought a season of repose, to the afflicted inhabitants of Lancaster. In 1702, the war between England and France was renewed. With slow, but steady progress, it reached the Colonies. In July 1704, seven hundred French and Indians proceeded against Northampton. Finding that the inhabitants were prepared for an attack, they turned their course towards Lancaster, excepting two hundred of them, who returned home, in consequence of a quarrel with their fellow soldiers about the division of spoil. On the thirty first of July, they commenced a violent and sudden attack early in the morning, in the west part of the town, and killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison.† Near the same place, during the day, they killed three other persons.‡ Nor was this the only injury committed by them on that day. The inhabitants were much inferior to the French and Indians in number. Capt. Tyng happened, at this time, to be in Lancaster with a party of soldiers, and Capt. How gathered in haste what men he was able, and marched with them, from Marlborough, to the relief of the town. They fought with great bravery, but the great number of the enemy forced the inhabitants to retreat into garrison. This gave the enemy opportunity of doing further mischief. They burnt the Church, besides six other buildings, and destroyed no small part of the live stock of the town.

What losses the Indians sustained in their various encounters was never known. They were always quite careful to remove and conceal their slain. In this last conflict, Mr. Harrington observes, it was thought that their loss was considerable, and that a "French officer of some distinction, was mortally wounded," which excited them probably to prolong the battle. Towards evening, many flocked in to the relief of the town, and the enemy made good their retreat, with such success, that they were not overtaken by our soldiers. On the 26th of October following, a party of

* Jonathan Fairbanks' wife, widow Wheeler and Mary Glazer, and son of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and of Joseph Rugg.

† This Nathaniel Wilder was youngest son of Thomas, the first inhabitant of the name of Wilder. The garrison was on the farm now owned by Mr. Soombes, and from the early settlement, till lately, owned by the Wilders.

‡ Abraham How, John Spaulding, and Benjamin Hutchins. How and Hutchins were Marlborough men. Worcester Magazine, II. 156.

the enemy was discovered at Still river, (Harvard.) Some of the soldiers and inhabitants went in pursuit of them: returning much fatigued, Rev. Mr. Gardner the minister, took upon himself the watch for the night. In the course of the night, coming out of the sentry's box, the noise was heard by one in the house, a Mr. Samuel Prescott. As Indians were in the neighborhood, Prescott fired upon Mr. Gardner, supposing him to be an enemy, and shot him through the body. Mr. Gardner freely forgave the innocent, but unfortunate, cause of his death, and breathed his last, in an hour or two after. This closed hostilities for the melancholy year of 1704. On the 15th October, 1705, Thomas Sawyer, his son Elias Sawyer, and John Biglo, were taken captive and carried to Canada. Thomas Sawyer was a man of great bravery. On the arrival of the party at Montreal, says Whitney, Sawyer offered to erect a saw mill on the Chamblee provided the French Governor would obtain a release of all the captives. This he promised, if possible, to do. The son and Biglo were easily ransomed, but the father the Indians determined to put to death, by lingering torture. His deliverance was effected by the sudden appearance of a Friar, who told them that he held the key of Purgatory in his hand, and, unless they immediately released their prisoner, he would unlock the gates and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears, which the Catholics could so easily excite in the breast of the savage, prevailed. They unbound Sawyer from the stake, and delivered him to the Governor. He finished the mill* in a year, and was sent home with Biglo. His son Elias, was detained a while to instruct the Canadians in the art of "sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents."† The town suffered no further violence from the Indians till July 16, 1707, when Jonathan White was killed. On the 18th of August following, Jonathan Wilder,‡ a native of Lancaster, was taken captive. The party consisting of twenty-four men was pursued, the next day, by about thirty of the inhabitants of the two towns, and was overtaken in a remote part of the town, now included in Sterling,

* Whitney from whom the above relation is taken, says, that this was "the first saw mill in Canada, and that there was no artificer there capable of building one." pp. 43, 44.

† A grandson of Elias (Jotham Sawyer) is now living in Templeton, aged eighty six. He recollects riding horseback, behind his mother, to church, to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 28, 1753.

‡ He was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704, as mentioned above. Jonathan was born April 20, 1682.

and known by the name of the "Indian fight." The day being quite damp, and having cases on their guns, and their packs secured from the weather, the Indians were wholly unprepared for combat. However, as only ten of the English rushed upon them and engaged in the action, they determined not to surrender.—Having killed their captive, they fought bravely till they lost nine of their number. On the other side two* were killed and two† wounded. After a lapse of three years, on the 5th of August 1710, a number of the enemy fired upon Nathaniel and Oliver Wilder, who, with an Indian servant, were at work in the fields.‡ The Indian boy was killed, but the others made their escape and reached the garrison. From this time till peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713, the inhabitants were doubtless in a continual state of alarm, from expectations of secret and sudden attacks, to which they had been trained by long and bitter experience.

But this was the last hostile measure of the Indians, against Nashaway, and it may be considered, as worthy of remark, that the last person killed by the Indians, in this place, was himself an Indian.

The following is a list of the houses fortified, at various times from the year, 1670, to 1710, &c.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's Garrison, before described.

Wheeler's Garrison.—Now in the south part of Bolton, where Asa Houghton lives.

Fortified House.—Now the farm house of Mr. Richard J. Cleveland. This is where the first Judge Wilder lived.

White's Garrison.—On the spot where Mrs. White now lives, on the east side of the Neck—and opposite to the house of Major Jonathan Locke.

Joslin's Garrison.—West side of the Neck, one fourth of a mile north of the church, and near the house successively occupied by Peter Green, Dr. Manning and Dr. Peabody.

James Wilder's Garrison.—A large house, twenty rods back of the house of late Thomas Safford. This was the chief garrison. The house is not now standing.

* John Farrar, and Richard Singleterry.

† Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Mr. Samuel Stevens. Ephraim was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, and died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94.

‡ Their guns were resting against a fence at some distance, and the Indians succeeded in getting between the men and their guns before firing. Nathaniel was son of Lieut. Nathaniel, Oliver another son afterwards Colonel, appointed Justice Peace, January 28, 1762.

Minister's Garrison.—Nearly opposite the house of Samuel Ward, Esq. It was erected in 1688, and successively occupied by Rev. Messrs. Whiting, Gardner and Prentice.*

Thomas Sawyer's Garrison.—To the west of the last, and probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg, Esq.

Nathaniel Wilder's Garrison.—North of the last, on Mr. Toomb's farm, between his house and the house of Samuel Wilder.

John Prescott's Garrison.—About thirty rods southeast of Messrs. Polgnand and Plant's Factory.

Cyprian Steven's House.—A little to the south of the church, and near the house of William Stedman, Esq. on the Boston road, was probably a garrison.

There were Indian settlements, besides the one at Washacum, at the following places, viz. near the house of Samuel Jones, not far from the road to Leominster; one on a neck of land running into Fort pond; a third, east of Clam Shell pond, and north of John Larkin's, near Berlin; a fourth, above Pitt's mills in the south part of the town.

Hannah Woonsamug, an Indian woman, owned the covenant, and was baptised October, 1710.

In November, 1702, on the petition of Lancaster for leave to purchase of George Tahanto, an Indian Sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, a tract of land adjoining the west end of the township towards the Wachusett, a committee was chosen by the General Court to examine the land.

The purchase was in 1701,† but was not confirmed by the General Court, owing to the distressed situation of the country, till some years after.‡ The committee made their return in 1711. The whole of this grant is now included in other towns; and it will be sufficient, on this matter, to refer to the first vol. of Worcester Mag-

* Soon after the death of Mr. Prentice, the proprietors voted to sell the Church lands in Lancaster.

† June 26, 1701, as appears by a copy in my possession in the hand writing of John Houghton, Esq. who was proprietors clerk.

‡ It is proper here to correct an inaccuracy in the sermon of Rev. Mr. Conant of Leominster, delivered Oct. 12, 1823. He says that "the Lancaster New, or additional grant," was made to induce the return of the inhabitants, (of Lancaster, after its destruction by the Indians,) and that consequently the first grant of Leominster must have been prior to the year 1680." This grant included what is now Leominster and was not made till the eighteenth century, (1713,) as stated in the text. The purchase was made by the inhabitants of Lancaster, the confirmation was by the General Court. See I. Worcester Magazine, 272-3-4-5.

azine, p. 272–3–4. It was settled as early as 1720, especially the part which is now included in Sterling. Gamaliel Beman, Samuel Sawyer, Benjamin Houghton, David Osgood, and Jonathan Osgood, removed to that place, from other parts of Lancaster.*

From the close of the last Indian war the population began to increase rapidly. The descendants of the original planters, and the new comers, were spread over a broad surface in every part of the town. Uninterrupted industry produced an improved state of the social system, and the character of the place at this time, and for many succeeding years, ranked high for general intelligence, good habits, union and prosperity.†

In 1730, sundry people living on the east side of the Penecook petitioned for a new town. Afterwards, in the same year, the inhabitants were willing to give their consent, if the "General Court should see cause." An act of incorporation was granted, June, 1732, by the name of Harvard; at which time, there were fifty families in the place.‡

Stimulated by this success of their neighbors, and subjected to great inconveniences by their distance from church, the inhabitants living south of Harvard, and within the limits of Lancaster, in 1733, petitioned for a new town. This was refused at the time, but was granted, as far as was in the power of Lancaster, in 1736, and in June, 1738, was incorporated by the name of Bolton. Gamaliel Beman and others in Chocksett,§ stating the same grievances as the Bolton men, urged the same suit in 1733, in their own behalf. This petition was rejected for a number of years, till, in 1741, a conditional permission to form a separate town, was granted to

* A minute and valuable history of Sterling having been published by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. it will not be expected, that I shall touch upon the same subject, any further than, as incidentally, it becomes necessary, in describing Lancaster.

† In May, 1721, Gershom and Jonas Rice, two inhabitants of Worcester, sent a letter to John Houghton, Esq. of this town; and Peter Rice of Marlborough, requesting them to present a certain petition to the General Court, in behalf of Worcester, and closed with saying; "so craving your serious thoughtfulness for the poor, distressed town of Worcester, we subscribe ourselves," &c.

‡ Feb. 5th, 1732. The proprietors of Lancaster granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land, where the inhabitants of Harvard "have built a house for public worship—also for a training field, and for a burying place, and other public uses." Feb. 1734. They gave Mr. Secomb, the first minister of Harvard, the two islands in Bear (or Bare) hill pond.

§ This word is a corruption of Woonksechauxit, or Woonksechauckset, now Sterling.

them. To these conditions, they did not assent. They, however, were made a separate precinct.

Next came forward those of the northwest, in 1737. They were incorporated June, 1740, by the name of Leominster. Notwithstanding these successive diminutions in territory, which included a part of Harvard and Bolton, and the whole of Leominster, the population and wealth of the town still ranked high, and went on increasing by the accession of new inhabitants, in the east and west precincts.

The town, however, suffered in proportion to its means, all the evils that attended the state of the currency at that period. The general evil extended as far back, as the seventeenth century; when, to meet the expenses attending the expedition against Canada in 1690, bills of credit were issued anticipating the taxes of the year. This system was continued for some years, and till 1704, the bills were in good credit and answered the purpose of specie. But draughts, beyond the means of the province to bear, being made to defray the heavy expenses incurred in subsequent expeditions, the evil at length became intolerable, and, after the peace of 1713, the public mind was turned towards finding a remedy. There was not sufficient silver and gold in the country to redeem the bills, and the very currency caused these metals to disappear. A public bank, loaning bills on land security, was, after much debate, established in 1714. The few, who at that day seemed to understand what are now deemed first principles in banking, were out voted. These bills, from the operation of the cause I have mentioned above, sunk continually in value, and to an equal extent occasioned a loss to the community. The system was continued many years, and produced a continual sacrifice of property to artificial and imaginary wealth. The bills were loaned by trustees, in every part of the province, on mortgage, with interest and one fifth of the principal payable annually. And when the time of payment arrived, the paper having sunk much below its nominal value, the debtors would be obliged to pay a much larger amount in this trash, or sacrifice their estates in payment of the mortgages. To avoid this, laws were passed from time to time, extending the limit of payment, but prolonging only a lingering state of affairs, that must, in the nature of things, have its crisis, and shake the province to the centre. So infatuated were the people, that they supposed paper emissions would one day work out their redemption from distress and poverty.

Lancaster, I find, instructed her Representative in 1731, "to pay such a regard to his majesty's Governor, as becomes the Rep-

resentative of a loyal people, and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the royal prerogative, nor on any of the privileges of the people; and especially by supplying the treasury, without appropriations, unless of some small quantities that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This probably related to the Governor's salary. Hutchinson observes that "the major part of the house were very desirous of giving satisfaction to the Governor, and to their constituents both." Lancaster had its proportion of the various issues of paper from time to time, and appointed trustees among the inhabitants to distribute it upon mortgage.* The land bank company of 1741, established for the same purposes as the bank of 1714, loaned bills of credit on security of real estate, but possessed no funds for redeeming them. The evil at length, after long and indiscribable distress was removed in a great measure, in 1749, by the introduction of specie, from England, in payment of the provincial expenses of the expedition against Cape Breton.

At this time, and for many years previous, Lancaster was in the County of Worcester. In 1728, a petition by Capt. William Jennison, for a new County, was forwarded to Lancaster; and the town instructed its Representative,† "that in case the Superior Court be holden at Marlborough, and two inferior Courts at Lancaster, annually, then to accede to the proposal. But in case the Courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with." At a subsequent meeting, Feb. 1729, this vote was reconsidered, "as the westerly part of the County of Middlesex will be broken in pieces, in case that the towns petitioned for by Capt. Jennison, be joined with Suffolk." It was also voted to "petition for a new County in the westerly part of Middlesex."‡

This was afterwards granted and an act of incorporation was obtained in 1731.

In the wars subsequent to this period many of the inhabitants were called into service. War was declared against Spain, in October, 1739, and some of the soldiers from Lancaster perished at

*In 1728, the proportion of the £60,000 issued in bills of credit, to which Lancaster was entitled, was £471 05.

†Josiah White.

‡James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents. Judge Joseph Wilder, a man of extensive influence in the *depths of his wisdom*, prevented Lancaster from being made a half shire town, lest it should be the means of corrupting the morals of the inhabitants. In 1743, an attempt, it seems was made to divide the County. Lancaster chose Wm. Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder, to oppose a division, before the General Court.

Jamaica in the sickly season of the year.* At the siege of Louisbourg there were present 3250 soldiers from Massachusetts, not including commissioned officers. In this number, there were many from Lancaster, both officers and men. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which Cape Breton was restored to the French, was not of long continuance. The contest was renewed in 1755, under a much wider range of operations, and continued with mighty efforts, and unabated zeal, till the French were finally driven from the American continent in 1762. During this war a large proportion of the able bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service.† These troops were not merely "food for powder" men, but the substantial yeomanry of the country. New England poured forth her best blood freely, like water, and gained the military experience that afterwards proved so useful in the war of '75.

The year previous to the French war, an effort was made to unite the colonies for all measures of common protection and safety. But the plan that was projected, was far from satisfactory, either to the King or the colonies, though for opposite reasons. In reference to this scheme, the representative of the town was instructed "to oppose all plans of a general or partial union, that shall anywise encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people."

An addition was made to the town in February, 1768, by taking from Shrewsbury a strip of land belonging to that town, and usually called the Leg. Those who lived at this place, sought to be united to Lancaster as early as 1748, but did not obtain permission from the General Court.

The minds of men were now generally intent upon the great question of right, that was at this time in full discussion. The whole bias of this town was towards liberty. The attempts of Parliament to bind us in all cases were received with indignation. Here, as well as elsewhere, though the stamp act was disliked, it was thought that reparation should be made to those who suffered by the mobs that law occasioned. "The cause of liberty" it was believed, "was a cause of too much dignity, to be sullied by turbulence and tumult.‡

* Jacob Wilder in a letter written at Jamaica, Dec. 1740, after mentioning a number of his acquaintance who had died, says, "through the providence of God, I am in nomination for an Ensign, *and I hope that I may be fitted for it.*" There were eighteen or nineteen in this expedition, who belonged to Lancaster; none of them lived to return.

† The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war.

‡ See the whole of the fine passage in Farmer Dickinson's third letter.

No event of much local importance occurred in town for many years preceding the revolution. The whole current of thought was turned into this one channel, the arbitrary exactions of parliament. All men were looking forward beyond their immediate anxiety, to the darker prospect that clouded the future. The principle of resistance was at work in every village. It is quite important to dwell somewhat at large upon the transactions of the town at this period, and till the termination of the war. Possibly all are not aware how much was accomplished by towns, as such; how many sacrifices were made in every way, to help on the cherished undertaking. New England contributed more, both in men and money, to the success of the great struggle, than all the other provinces; and those miniature republics, the towns, so singular a feature in the body politic, gave to New England, weight and importance.

At a town meeting, in January, 1773, "The dangerous condition of public affairs, in particular the independency of the Superior Judges, came into discussion, as a subject of great interest. The representative received particular instructions, herein, and also as to the right claimed by the mother country, to transport persons to England for trial. He was directed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain a radical redress of grievances.

A committee* was chosen, and reported the following resolves:

"That this and every other town in the Province, has an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them, when, and so often, as they shall judge fit. And it is more especially their duty so to do, when any infringement is made upon their civil or religious liberties.

"That the raising a revenue in the colonies, without their consent, either by themselves or their representatives, is an infringement of that right, which every freeman has to dispose of his own property.

"That the granting a salary to His Excellency the Governor of this province, out of the revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

"That it is of the highest importance to the security of liberty, life an property, that the public administration of justice, should be pure and impartial, and that the Judges should be free from every bias, either in favour of the crown or the subject.

"That the absolute dependence of the Judges of the superior

* Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman and Ebenezer Allen.

Court of this province upon the crown for their support, would if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

"That the extension of the power of the Court of Vice Admiralty to its present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject, in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishmen, trial by jury.*

In Sept. 1774, William Dunsmoor, David Wilder,† Aaron Sawyer, Asa Whitcomb, Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott and Ephraim Sawyer, were chosen as a committee of correspondence.‡ £50 were voted to buy ammunition; two field pieces were purchased, and one hundred men were raised as volunteers, to be ready, at a minute's warning, to turn out upon any emergency; to be formed into two companies and choose their own officers."

Committees were also chosen to draw up "a covenant and for non-consumption of certain articles, and to be signed by the inhabitants." Also, "to post up such persons as continue to buy, sell or consume any *East India Teas*, in some public place in town;" and, in January, 1775, to "receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of the town of Boston," cruelly oppressed by the port bill.

On the alarm of the commencement of hostilities, on the 19th of April, 1775, the company of minute men marched directly to Lexington, and the company of Cavalry§ under the command of Capt. Thomas Gates, proceeded to Cambridge, to aid in driving the British troops to Boston. The cavalry remained in Cambridge while their aid was considered necessary. Ten of their number enlisted into the service of their country in the Massachusetts line.

I have no data at hand, by which to ascertain the number of men from this town, who joined the army during the war. The demands from head quarters for soldiers were numerous and were

* In 1774, the town instructed the representative, Col. Asa Whitcomb, "not to vote for compensation to the owners of the tea destroyed, neither by tax nor by assessment on the people."

† Mr. Wilder was foreman of the grand jury that voted, April, 1774, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as Judge at this present Court, (Supreme Court at Worcester,) they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

‡ The committe of correspondence and safety in 1777, consisted of Col. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Thomas Gates, Joshua Fletcher, Elisha Allen and Jabez Fairbanks.

§ Of this company James Goodwin, the oldest man in Lancaster, Moses Burpee, Samuel Sawyer, John Hawkes, Phineas Fletcher and Joseph Blood, are living. The company of minute men was commanded by Capt. Benjamin Houghton. In June following, Andrew Haskell was the Captain,

all answered by the town with great cheerfulness. Indeed, I have no reason to doubt, that at different periods of the long conflict, all the able bodied inhabitants either in person or by substitute, were in the field, in defence of their country.* Large sums of money were voted at various times, to encourage those who were drafted. Clothing for the troops and great quantities of provision were often purchased; committees were chosen to furnish the families of those who had enlisted with the necessaries and conveniences of life, and in short, great and unwearied efforts were made by the town to help on the struggle to a successful termination.† In one instance only was there any hesitation. In June, 1780, an order came from Government for a draft of forty men, for six months. When the subject was brought before the town, Josiah Kendall, a leading and flaming patriot, addressed himself to the question, and declared that the town could not furnish the supply, being exhausted by repeated efforts. Samuel Ward, Esq.‡ seeing the course that was likely to be taken, urged a compliance with the order, and was pursuaded that a course which he suggested, might be adopted, that would satisfy the men to be drafted. On his motion, a Committee§ was im-

* About forty were engaged in the service over nine months; the rest were out for less terms of time, from one to nine months. Messrs. Jonathan Wilder, Silas Thurston and Jacob Z. Weares were at the taking of Burgoyne,

† Prices were annually set to every article of life. In the summer of 1777, farming labor was 3*s* per day, wheat 6*s* 8*d*. rye 4*s* 6*d*. per bushel—Physician fees—emetic 1*s*, cathartic 1*s*, travel 8*d*. per mile, visit 8*d*, pulling tooth do.

‡ This gentleman died August 14, 1826, aged 87. He was born in Worcester. At the age of sixteen, he entered the army, early in the French war. He was first out as a private in 1756, and rose before 1760 to be Adjutant in Col. Abijah Willard's regiment. He was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by Gen. Amherst, in 1759, and of Isle aux Noix and Montreal, in 1760. Towards the close of the war, he commenced business in Groton, and moved to Lancaster, in 1767. He represented the town in the General Court in 1800 and 1801, and for a great number of years served in various offices in the town.

Few individuals, who have not been extensively engaged in public life, have been so widely known. His acquaintance was sought by all. No one who ever knew him, though but slightly, could forget him. His powers of entertainment were never exhausted: his hospitality was inexhaustible. His knowledge was eminently practical, and had he enjoyed the advantages of a public education, he would have been distinguished as a Statesman. A mind of uncommon acuteness, a quick and keen perception of character, wide views of men and things, belonged to Mr. Ward, and enabled him to be highly useful as a citizen. In the daily charities of life, in giving aid to objects of public benevolence and usefulness, in distributions to the poor, he was ever active and ready. The indigent in this town have lost a valuable friend; one who for many years, week by week, ministered to their necessities, and whose good deeds will cause him to be long remembered in future years.

§ Nathaniel Balch, so celebrated for his powers of entertainment, so "merry and facete," the life of Gov. Hancock, and the great wit of his day,

mediately chosen of which he was chairman, and they proceeded to take measures to pay the men. The bounty in addition to the wages, was sometimes paid in continental money, and, at others, in corn, beef, live stock, land, &c. At this time, the old emission compared with gold and silver, was as 68 to 1,* and as compared with the new emission, as 40 to 1. The men received their bounties, in different ways. One of them, named Dunsmoor, was asked in what he would receive his bounty. He answered that Deacon Moore, (one of the committee,) had a piece of land adjoining his own farm, and he wished to own it. "Take it," cried Moore, "take it; I'd rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than loose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country." The effort succeeded: the forty men were drafted, paid off, and commenced their march within twelve days.

In June, 1777, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, Col. Asa Whitcomb was chosen "to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the state." Soon after, the names of a number of citizens† were placed on the list in town meeting, as being included in the above description. Most of them were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, one of the number, that when his name was added to the list, on the foolish motion of some individual, the venerable and truly excellent man, bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, "strike, strike here, with your daggers; I am a true friend to my country." The passion for proscribing innocent persons, soon subsided in a measure, and a new mode of managing the

was one of the committee. He was quite a whig, without a persecuting spirit; but not liking "guns and drums," he left Boston and resided in Lancaster, during the war. Here he was of much service in moderating the violence, oftentimes so unnecessary, but to which the feelings of patriotism frequently urged the patriots. He lived a little to the north of the church, on the Wrifford place.

* That is, on 16th June, 1780, one Spanish milled dollar was equal to sixty eight dollars of the old emission. On the first of April previous, the proportion was 40 to 1.

† Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. At the commencement of hostilities, Col. Abijah Williard, a mandamus counsellor, and his brother, Abel Williard, Esq. went to Boston, and remained there during the siege. They left the country before the war terminated. They were both very much beloved, particularly the latter, and their departure was a cause of regret to the inhabitants. Indeed, they might have remained without being molested. Like many others, believing that the contest was hopeless, and that inevitable defeat would place the country in a state of servitude, they left their homes, and when convinced that their course was not well chosen, it was too late to remedy the error.

business was devised. The examinations of the suspected were afterwards conducted by the committee of safety, where less excitement, and somewhat of a calm and dispassionate way of proceeding was introduced. No great violence however, no mobs, no riotous conduct disturbed the general state of the town. The spirit of liberty was deeply rooted and widely extended; indeed, so general was it, that it did not demand the *moral refreshing* of a mob to impart an active principle.

A number of the citizens who joined the army, were killed in battle, or died of their wounds. Of these, David Robbins was killed at Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps, wounded there, died in August, 1775: John Ballard, Abel Wyman and John Bennett, died in 1776: Jonathan Sawyer, killed in 1777: Joseph Phelps died of his wounds in 1778: he was on board an armed vessel: Joseph Wilder died on board the same vessel. There were but few officers from this town in the continental service. Col. Henry Haskell, was a native of this town, lived here most of his life and died here. The other officers were Capt. Andrew Haskell, Lieuts. John Hewitt, Winslow Phelps, Philip Corey, and Jeremeel Haskell. Andrew Haskell was a brave soldier, and deserves a passing notice. When the appeal was made to arms, he marched to Lexington as Lieutenant of the company of minute men. He joined the army soon after. He was subsequently promoted to be a Captain in the Massachusetts line, and afterwards in the continental army. He possessed but little education, and of course but little refinement, and though a candidate for higher rank, was kept from promotion by his want of proper dignity and self respect. Irritated with this treatment, he suddenly left the service. But his love of country was too powerful, to suffer him to remain idle. In the course of a few weeks, he again enlisted, and served as a common soldier in the continental army, till the peace of 1783. After this period, he lived in Lancaster till 1791, when he joined the army led by the unfortunate Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair, against the Indians northwest of the Ohio, and was killed in the memorable battle near the Miamies' villages, Nov. 3, 1791, when the American forces suffered a sad overthrow.

In Feb. 1778, the "articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies, were accepted on the part of the town. The various temporary constitutions for a state government, were agreed to, and the Constitution of this Commonwealth as it stood till 1821, received the assent of the town by a vote of one hundred and three, to seven, in May, 1780. In the choice of Governor the

first year, the votes were sixty nine for John Hancock, and nine for James Bowdoin.*

In April, 1781, the second precinct, formerly called Chocksett,† was incorporated into a town, by the name of Sterling. This measure was, at first, not well pleasing to the inhabitants of the old parish, because the former were unwilling to aid in the support of the French neutrals, the bridges, and poor, to which the whole town was liable. However, they of Woonkseckaukset, at last, obtained the majority, turned out the town officers in the old parish, and held the town meetings in their own precinct. This was in 1780. This state of things not being a very agreeable one, and the town records having suffered somewhat in *chirography* and *authography* by the change of clerk, the "Pharaohs" were willing after one year's experience, "to let the people go."‡ All former causes of difference, having been done away, the inhabitants of both towns indulged towards each other, feelings of good will and kindness.

The war, as is well known, left the country in an impoverished and exhausted condition. Industry had been abandoned; the old sources of trade were for a time closed; the pursuits of peace, were in strong contrast to the excitement of a protracted contest. A disbanded army, with victory for its portion, spread its influence on every side; an influence in no degree favorable to habits of peace, and the restraints of virtuous principle. Poverty was every where. A sound circulating medium, which industry alone could restore, was still wanting.

In this state of things, the town chose John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, sen'r,§ and Samuel Ward, a committee to petition for a lottery, to enable the town to repair the numerous and expensive bridges it was obliged to support. Permission for a lottery was accordingly obtained, in 1782. There were, it appears, fourteen classes drawn between that time and 1790. In the few first classes, the town was in debt to the managers; afterwards some money was obtained for the repair of bridges. No scheme of taxation could

* The highest number of votes in this town, was A. D. 1809, two hundred and ninety five. In the year 1814, two hundred and ninety four, viz: Caleb Strong had two hundred and twenty six, and Samuel Dexter had sixty eight. In 1815, two hundred and ninety two, viz: two hundred thirty nine and fifty three. The present number of voters, is more than three hundred.

† Woonksechaukset.

‡ See Worcester Magazine, vol. II. p. 44.

§ Father of the late Timothy Whiting, Esq. and General John Whiting, of this town.

have been devised more injurious and extravagant. It was paying under a fascinating prospect of gain, a much larger sum, than the citizens would have been obliged to contribute by regular rates. Nor was this all. Many will recollect the time consumed in drawing the numerous classes of this lottery, the idleness and consequent dissipation it induced, to say nothing of its natural tendency to beget a love of gaming.

1786. During the rebellion of Shays, the town was quite loyal to government, and a number of the citizens joined General Lincoln's army and continued with him till the rebels were dispersed. A delegate was sent to the county convention at Leicester, in August, 1786; and some of the proceedings of that body were accepted by the town: the articles relating to a change of the Constitution and to an issue of paper money were rejected without hesitation.

From 1790, to 1794, a hospital was kept open in town, under the direction of Dr. Israel Atherton, for the purpose of inoculating for the small pox; and in 1801, he was directed to ascertain the efficacy of the kine pock.

In 1798, a proposition to divide the County, was negatived, but three votes being cast in favor and one hundred and seven against it.

On the death of Washington, an Eulogy was delivered by Rev. Dr. Thayer; the pulpit was shrowded in black, and the audience wore emblems of mourning.

One family of the society of Shakers, a branch of the society in Shirley, resides in this town. Their reputation for good order, and industry, and consequent thrift, makes them useful citizens. With the peculiarities of their religious worship the public must be well acquainted. With due credit for their sincerity, their diligence renders them a good example in the neighborhood in which they live.

During the violence of party conflict, a greater degree of union and good fellowship was preserved here, than in many other places, and did not give rise, as, in some instances elsewhere to religious dissensions and lasting bitterness. Quiet and harmony now reign in the midst of us; the population and wealth of the town are increasing more rapidly than at any period, within the memory of our aged people. The local situation combines advantages, as a place of retirement for the man of leisure and fortune, whilst an abundance of highly productive soil renders it favorable for the pursuits of agriculture.

In 1823, the old meeting house was taken down, and a neat building, with a portico in front, was erected in its place. In this, the meetings of the town are held for all municipal purposes.

Ecclesiastical History.—In the act of incorporation of the town, the General Court ordered the inhabitants "to take care that a Godly minister be maintained among them." In the fall of the same year, (Nov. 1653,) when the allotments of land were completed, the planters entered into mutual covenants for themselves, their heirs, &c. and set apart "thirty acres of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, forever as church lands for the use of, and towards the maintenance of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being, or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God;" permitting the minister "to improve* the lands himself if he should so choose." They further covenanted "to build a meeting house for the public assembly of the church and people of God, to worship God according to his holy ordinances;" the building to be erected "as near to the church lands and to the neck of land as can be without any notable inconvenience." Also "to build a house for the minister on the church lands." Each one agreed to pay ten shillings annually for his home lot towards the support of the minister, and to make up the deficiency, if any, in the salary, by an equal rate. To exclude heresy, as we have before seen, "and for the better preserving of the purity of religion, and themselves from infection of error," they agreed "not to distribute allotments of land, nor to receive into the plantation as inhabitants, any excommunicante, or otherwise profane and scandalous, none so to be; nor any notoriously erring against the doctrine† and discipline of the churches, and the state and government of the Commonwealth."

* The word in this sense, (occupy) was in use in New England soon after the first settlemet of the country. I have met with it earlier than 1658, in a number of instances. Dr. Franklin is in error, in supposing that this corruption was not till the eighteenth century.

† Toleration was considered a high crime, both by the clergy and laity, in the seventeenth century. Our early writers discover great indignation and bitterness when they touch upon the subject. Ward, in his simple Cobler of Agawam, says, "The state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else *the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.*" "It is likewise said that men ought to have liberty of their conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such wilful ignorance. Let all the wits under the heavens, lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this,(one excepted,)and I will petition to be chosen the *universal idiot of the world.*" pp. 8, 12, Ed. 1647.

"Master Joseph Rowlandson," the first minister of Lancaster, commenced bachelor at Cambridge in 1652, with all the honors of his class, as he appears to have constituted the whole of the class of that year. Of his ancestry* or the time or place of his birth, I know nothing. Cotton Mather calls him an author of "lesser composures."† What these were, I venture to say, after diligent inquiry, is not to be discovered. Mr. Rowlandson began to preach in Lancaster as early as the summer or fall of 1654. In February following, (12, 12 mo. 1654,) he subscribed the town covenant, which I have before mentioned, and received his allotment of land. The commissioners, at their meeting, April 25, 1656, directed the town to pay Mr. Rowlandson "fifty pounds by the year," taking "wheat at six pence per bushel," under the usual price, "and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably," &c. In September, 1657, the Commissioners ordered the selectmen "to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and also for the erecting a meeting house," &c. In compliance with these orders, a house for worship was erected soon after. A town meeting was held in it in June, 1658. It was situated on the north east side of what is now the new burying ground, on the brow of the hill, opposite to Mr. Rowlandson's house, and about one third of a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. In August, 1657, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry. After preaching in town nearly four years, he probably became discouraged as to the prospect of being invited to settle, and gave out his intention of removing from town. Whether this was done in sober earnest, or was merely to bring the town to terms, is only a matter of conjecture at this late day. The following extract from the records has some point, and perhaps will bear being quoted.

"Monday 3, 3 mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master

* I may qualify this remark in a measure. Thomas Rowlandson, who, I think, was his father, died in Lancaster, Nov. 17, 1657. At the County Court in Middlesex, April, 1658, "Mr. Joseph Rowlandson brought into Court the inventory of his father's estate, and had Administration granted to him." By another entry in April Term, 1659, it appears that "the return of Mr. Rowlandson and his brethren concerning their father's estate, was accepted." His brother Thomas was killed, as we have seen, when the town was destroyed.

† "Not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathaniel Mather, a Hoar, a Rowlandson, &c. the authors of lesser composures out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chauncey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures." Magnalia, book 4, part I.

Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other; so discharging him.

"Friday 14, 3 mo. 1658.* A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away;† upon which, the town having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us: and, after some debate, it was voted as follows:

"1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle amongst them in the work of the ministry. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"2. Whether it was their mind to allow him for maintenance fifty pounds a year, one half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions; or, otherwise, fifty five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the Court. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling house which he lived in as his own proper right according to the deed made by the town and confirmed by the committee; with the point of land westward, and some land west, and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture and the like.

"This was put to the vote and granted by the major part, (and opposed by none but old Goodman Kerley,‡ only there was a *sexter*

* Mr. Harrington says this was April 14, 1658. This is a mistake: the original record, in Ralph Houghton's hand writing, is distinct, 14, 3 mo. (May) 1658.

† The meaning is, that he was invited to preach in Billerica. Afterwards, in the same year, Rev. Samuel Whiting began to preach there, and was ordained in April, 1663. "Hist. Memoir of Billerica," by John Farmer Esq. pp. 8—9.

‡ Goodman Kerley (William Kerley, senior,) seems to have continued in a wrathful state of mind for some time; for though one of the number appointed to manage the municipal concerns of the town, he did not attend the meetings of his brethren; it being a usual entry in the records that the Selectmen met at such a time and place, all excepting Goodman Kerley.

or two) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land* intended to be for the next minister, &c.

"And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the towns invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

Mr. Rowlandson was, there is reason to believe, a man of good talents and a faithful minister.† Cotton Mather and all traditions are in his favor. I can gather no particulars relative to his ministry: the early records of the town being lost, and those of the church probably consumed, when the town was destroyed. Nothing can be found relative to his ordination.

Mr. Harrington supposes that Mr. Rowlandson was ordained the same year that he accepted the invitation of the town. But there is reason to believe that this did not take place till September, 1660, more than two years after. The church, it seems, was not organized till that time. This is a fair inference from the entry in the records of Dorchester, that on the "26th August, 1660, Roger Sumner was dismissed" from the church in Dorchester, "that with other christians, at Lancaster, a church might be formed there."‡ Church is here spoken of as distinct from congregation. At that period, the law of 1641 was in force, which first established the right to gather churches, vesting in them the power of electing the pastor, &c.—and according to the Cambridge platform, chap. ix. s. 3, 4, 5, Ordination, which was by imposition of hands, was to be performed by the elders of the church; and if there were no elders, then by some of the brethren selected for that purpose, or, if *the church desire it*, by the elders of other churches.

No instance under the law of 1641 occurs to me, in which a minister was ordained without the intervention of the church; the strictness that was then introduced continued many years, and was kept in full vigor by an explanatory statute in 1668. It is then a reasonable supposition in the absence of all opposing testimony,

* This probably was the land opposite to the residence of the late Samuel Ward Esq. and extending towards the north east, and next to John Prescott's estate.

† Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, of Lancaster, "for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God's word there," upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence and was discharged on paying for the attendance of the witnesses. Middlesex County Court Records, 1658

‡ 1 Mass. Hist. Col. ix. 192

that the ordination did not take place earlier than September, 1660.

Mr. Rowlandson was the minister of the town till it was destroyed in Philip's war, as has been already related. His wife, after being a prisoner eleven weeks and five days, was ransomed early in May, 1676, and lived in Charlestown and Boston, with her husband about a year. Probably in May, 1677, they moved to Weathersfield, in Connecticut. Mr. Rowlandson preached there a while, and died before Lancaster was resettled.* The name of Rowlandson is not common; and I am not able to say whether there are any descendents of the worthy minister living.†

After the town was re-settled, and for seven years, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Carter (probably Samuel Carter, Harvard University, 1660) William Woodrop,‡ and Mr. Oakes.§ Mr. Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices under the act of conformity, on St. Bartholemew's day, 1662. He came over to New England, says Cotton Mather, "after the persecution which then hurricanoed such as were non-conformists." He was never settled in this town, although from Mather and Neal, it would seem otherwise.

In Feb. 1688, Mr. John Whiting was invited to preach as a candidate; he continued to supply the pulpit till Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle, and undoubtedly was ordained soon after.‖

* The following is a list of his children, as far as I can ascertain. I cannot assert that it is complete.

Mary, born 15, 11, 1657, (Jan. 1658) died 20, 11, 1660, (Jan. 1661.)

Mary born 12, 6 mo. (August) 1665. She was taken captive, at the same time with her mother, and made her escape in May, 1676.

Joseph, born 7, 1, (March) 1661. In a deed of his, July 1, 1686, to John Wilder, ancestor of the present Mr. Jonathan Wilder, he calls himself "of Lancaster yeoman." This proves nothing. He is not mentioned in any of the rates at that period, and I doubt whether he resided here, after the restoration in the spring of 1680. It appears by Whitney that he was one of the original purchasers of Rutland, 22d December, 1686. That town, however, was not settled till thirty years, or more, afterwards.

Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1669. Wounded by the Indians when her mother was taken captive, she died at New Braintree, on the ninth day afterwards.

† One of the name *bit off a man's ear* last June in Belfast, Maine. I trust, however, that no one from the stock of Master Joseph Rowlandson, could be so mordacious.

‡ Magnalia B. III. Neal's New England, Chap. VIII. Harrington spells the name, Wooddroffe.

§ This may have been Edward Oakes, Harvard University, 1679.

‖ It was not usual during the first age of the New England Church, or indeed through the seventeenth century, to have a discourse preached at ordination. And when the practice was introduced, the minister elect preached it himself.

The town voted, in Feb. 1688, to build a house for their minister, payment to be made "one eighth in money; the rest, one half in work, and one half in corn, viz. Indian, one third, and English two thirds, at country price, or other merchantable pay." When the building was finished, the town gave Mr. Whiting possession in this way, viz. "at a town meeting Jan 3, 1690, agreed to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town. And the town the same time went out of the house, and gave Mr. John Whiting possession thereof in behalf of the whole above written, formerly granted by the town."* After serving faithfully more than nine years, he was killed as has been before related, by the Indians, Sept. 11, 1697, aged thirty three. I can give no particulars touching his ministry; the records of town, church and propriety, being wanting during this period.†

Mr. Whiting was the second son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, and was born in that town, August or Sept. 1, 1664, and graduated at Harvard University, 1685. He probably received his name from that of his grandmother, Elizabeth St. John, wife of Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn. It was necessary to sink the St. lest it should seem an acknowledgment of the authority of the Pope and his power of canonization. Our fathers even when they spake of the Apostles, and the holy fathers of the early church, did not use the adition of "Saint."‡

On the death of Mr. Whiting, the pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman, till the year 1701. The first of these, Mr. John Robinson, was afterwards settled at Duxbury, in Nov. 1702, and continued there till his death, in 1731.§ "Mr. Jones," says Mr. Harrington, "was invited to settle,‖ but, difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented and he removed." Mr. Samuel Whitman was of the class of 1696, Harvard University, and

* This house was pleasantly situated opposite to the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. It was taken down a few years ago. Those who paid the highest rates towards this building, were John Moore, Jr. John Houghton, Henry Kerley, Thomas Wilder, Deac. Roger Sumner, Josiah Whitcomb, Ephraim Roper, &c.

† Oliver Whiting, Esq. his brother, in January, 1717, petitioned the proprietors to have a record made of Rev. Mr. Whiting's land at Rock Meadow, and, also, to do what further was necessary for ratifying the bargain between his sister Alice and the town. A committee was chosen who gave him a deed in February following.

‡ Hutchinson, and J. Farmer.

§ 1. Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 183.

‖ May not this have been John Jones, Harvard University, 1690? What the difficulties were, is not known.

in 1699, was a school master in Salem. He was afterwards settled in the ministry.

In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach, and in the following September received an invitation to be the minister of the town. He preached in town, to great acceptance, for a number of years. Mr. Gardner was unfortunately killed by one of his society, Oct. 26, 1704, as has been already mentioned. He was soon to be ordained when this unfortunate occurrence brought sorrow upon the town. Why his ordination was so long deferred does not appear. It was indeed not customary to have this ceremony follow so soon after the invitation, as at the present day: but the delay was unusual even for that period. Tradition speaks in praise of Mr. Gardner; and Mr. Harrington remarks that he died, "to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."* The late Wm. Winthrop, in his manuscript catalogue, says that Mr. Gardner "was the son of Capt. Andrew Gardner who was killed in Canada."†

Mr. Hancock also, in his sermon preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington, speaks of him as "son of the worthy Capt. Andrew Gardner, who miscarried in an expedition to Canada, under Sir William Phips." Mr. Gardner was but thirty years of age when he died. He was born, I have reason to believe, in that part of Cambridge, which is now Brighton,‡ and graduated at Harvard University, 1696, in the same class with Samuel Whitman. He is not in *italicks* in the catalogue of the University, because he never received ordination.

On the 31st July, 1704, a short time before Mr Gardner's death, the meeting house was burnt by the Indians. This as I have already mentioned, escaped destruction in Philip's war and was the first house of public worship in town.

From the records of the General Court, it appears that some difficulty attended the erection of a second building. For, on the 28th December, 1704, the Court voted to allow the town forty pounds towards a new building, as soon as the inhabitants should erect a frame. And on petition of sundry of the inhabitants, referring to the place of setting the building, a committee was chosen "to hear

* See also Mr. Hancock's sermon, mentioned below.

† Letter of James Savage, Esq. Aug. 1826. The first Judge Joseph Wilder and his brother, Col. James Wilder, married sisters of Rev. Mr. Gardner. Ten acres of land, in town, were set off by the proprietors to his heirs in 1747.

‡ Letter from Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton.

the parties, and report." In May, 1706, John Houghton, Esq. the Representative of the town for that year, petitioned that "the restriction might be taken off against the said town's proceeding in the finishing of their meeting house in the place where they had raised a frame for that use." The request was granted, and the building was probably completed that year. It was situated on the Old Common, so called, opposite to the second burying ground.*

In May following Mr. Gardner's death, Mr. John Prentice commenced preaching in Lancaster. He continued to supply the pulpit until February, 1707, when he was invited to become the minister of the town. The invitation he accepted, and was ordained March 29, 1708. On the same day, previous to the ordination, a covenant was signed by the members of the church, general in its nature, binding those who professed it, to holy lives, with watchfulness of each other's conduct, acknowledging the equality of the churches, and the sufficiency of holy scripture, and refraining from the injunction of particular doctrines as necessary to enable one to participate in the ordinances. It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier covenants were not more technical and precise, and that, while due regard was paid to Orthodox faith,† christian liberty was regarded as a sacred right.‡

In 1726 and 1727, motions to build a new house of worship were negatived. Another attempt for a new building where the first meeting house stood, or on School House hill, where the town house now stands, was made without success, in 1733, and 1737. A motion for one on the west side of the Neck, and another on the east side of the river, was negatived in 1734. A new petition in 1741, for two buildings, one for the accommodation of the mile and the south part of the town, and another for the remaining inhabi-

* This burying field was given by Capt. Thomas Wilder, who died in 1717. He was the eldest son of Thomas Wilder, the first settler of the name. The old burying ground, was probably separated for that use as early as 1653. The third, was purchased of Rev. Dr. Thayer and Hon. John Sprague, in 1798.

† March, 1731—Town voted to buy Rev. Pres. Samuel Willard's "Body of Divinity, to be kept in the meeting house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause, and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting house, at any time, except by order of the selectmen or the town." This divine was son of Major Willard before named, one of the original purchasers of Concord, and great grand father of the late President Willard, of Harvard University.

‡ Nov. 1734—voted, that any desirous of admission to full communion, and declining to make a relation of his or her experiences, may be admitted by making a written confession of their faith. Church Records.

tants, met with the same fate. However, in January, 1742, at a town meeting called by a magistrate, it was voted, to build two houses, according to the petition of 1741, viz. one of them for the new precinct near Ridge hill in Woonksechauckset, and the other, on School House hill.

March 8, 1742, the old or first parish formed itself into a precinct, and chose officers. The new building in the first parish was completed in 1743.* It contained thirty three pews on the lower floor, with many long seats, as was usual at that day.

The church and town were in great harmony during the ministry of Mr. Prentice. In 1746, his health began to fail, and, from that period to the time of his death, his pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence, Cotton Brown, and Stephen Frost.† He died much lamented, January 6, 1746, aged 66, "after a life of much service and faithfulness."‡ He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching.§ "God gave him the tongue of the learned" said Mr. Hancock, "so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary; the God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how

* The committee consisted of Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Josiah White, Oliver Wilder and William Richardson. The parish granted £1045, 5*s*. 8*d*. old tenor, to build the church; the actual cost was £863, 3*s*. 7*d*.

† Benjamin Stevens, S. T. D. was a native of Charlestown, and minister of Kittery, in Maine. Graduated Harvard University, 1740. Mr. Lawrence Harvard University, 1743. Mr. Brown, Harvard University, 1743, born in Haverhill, and minister in Brookline. Mr. Frost, Harvard University, 1739. The same who is mentioned ante in note p. He was a member of Mr. Prentice's church.

‡ Mr. Prentice was twice married. His first wife was Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor. Their sons were Staunton, Thomas and John. Mary, the eldest daughter, married Rev. Job Cushing, minister of Shrewsbury, March, 1727; Elizabeth, Mr. Daniel Robbins, of the west parish, and after his death, Capt. Curtis, of Worcester; Sarah, Dr. Smith, and afterwards Col. Brigham of Southborough. The second wife was Mrs. Prudence Swan, mother of Rev. Josiah Swan, before mentioned. She was born in Charlestown, and her maiden name was Foster. Prudence, a daughter, married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, a graduate at Cambridge. Relief, married Rev. John Rogers, minister of Leominster, March, 1750. Rebecca, married Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish.

§ He preached a number of occasional sermons, viz. an Election sermon, May 28, 1735, from 2 Chron. III. 4,5 and part of 6th verses, which was printed. A sermon at the opening of the first Court in the County of Worcester, Aug. 10, 1731, from 2 Chron. XIX. 6, 7. A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Oct. 28, 1724, from 2 Cor. XII. 15. A funeral discourse, at Marlborough, on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, Jan. 1731.

he ought to behave himself in the house of God. They that knew him esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. He was a practical, scriptural, profitable preacher. As to his secular affairs, with the help of that PRUDENCE,* God gave him, he managed them with discretion." Mr. Prentice was a native of Newton. He graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1700, which contains the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker, Whiting, Robert Breck, &c. His father was Mr. Thomas Prentice of Newton, who married Mary Staunton. Thomas Prentice, a brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war, was a relation. Thomas, the father, died Nov. 6th, 1722, aged 93. He had been, according to tradition, together with Captain Prentice and another relation of the same name, one of Oliver Cromwell's Body Guard. By an ancient manuscript, in the possession of Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, it appears that Mr. Prentice (without doubt Rev. John Prentice) was admitted to the church in Newton, March 14, 1708, and taken out the same day. His relation was then, I presume, transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained Monday, March 29, 1708.†

On the fourth of January 1748, a few days before the death of Mr. Prentice, it was voted to settle a colleague "if God should spare their minister's life." Thursday the 21st was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner, Secomb, Rogers, Goss, and Mellen, were desired to assist on the occasion. Feb. 28, 1748, the society united with the church in inviting Mr. Cotton Brown to be their minister; and voted to give him £2000 old tenor, to enable him to purchase a parsonage, and £480 old tenor for his annual salary. Mr. Brown probably declined the offer;‡ for, on the 8th August following, they voted to hear no more candidates till they came to a choice, and desired the church to select one from those who had already preached. Accordingly, on the same day, the church made choice of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, with but two dissenting votes, and the society immediately concurred in the choice. They offered him £1000,

* His second wife. She died, July, 1765.

† For what relates to the parentage of Mr. Prentice, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, and John Mellen Esq. of Cambridge.
Mr. Prentice's salary in 1717, was £70: 1718, £85: 1726, £100: 1731, £130: 1737, £210, old tenor: the same in 1744, 5 and 6, "in the present currency."

‡ He was ordained at Brookline, Oct. 6, 1748, died, April 13, 1751.

old tenor, as a settlement, or £2000 for the purchase of a parsonage, and the same salary* that was offered to Mr. Brown. Mr. Harrington accepted the invitation, and was installed Nov. 16, 1748. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington.† Thirteen churches were represented by their "Elders and delegates, viz: Mr. Loring's of Sudbury, Mr. Gardner's of Stow, Mr. Stone's of Southborough, Mr. Parkman's of Westborough, Mr. Secomb's of Harvard, Mr. Goss' of Bolton, Mr. Rogers' of Leominster, Mr. Mellen's of the west parish, (Sterling,) Rev. Dr. Appleton's of Cambridge, Mr. Hancock's of Lexington, Mr. Williams' of Waltham, Mr. Storer's of Watertown, and Mr. Stearn's of Lunenburg."

Mr. Harrington had been the minister at Lower Ashuelot or Swansey, in New Hampshire. That town was distroyed, April 2, 1747, and the inhabitants were scattered. Monday, Oct. 4, 1748, his church met at Rutland, Mass. and gave their former pastor a dismission and warm recommendation to the first church in Lancaster. The letter was signed by Nathaniel Hammond, Timothy Brown, and Jonathan Hammond, and was highly acceptable to the church in this town.

During the ministry of Mr. Harrington, great changes took place in the state of society in New England. No period of our history is fraught with greater interest and instruction. Ancient simplicity was yielding to the alterations, if not the refinements, in manners, induced by a widening intercourse with the world, the increase of general intelligence, and the number of well educated men. The profession of law had acquired weight and influence, and its members were taking the lead in all that related to the political existence and improvement of the provinces. An inquisitive spirit began to stir in the church, which is still active and busy, under a change of the points of discussion.

I do not find that the introduction of instrumental music as a part of public worship, or the change in the mode of singing, gave rise to any uneasiness in the parish.‡ Not so however with the intro-

* The salary was annually settled by the price of the principal articles of life, £480 old tenor, equal to £64 lawful money, or $213 33. For a few years the salary was as high as $300.

† This sermon was printed. The text was from 1. Cor. IX. 19. Mr. Hancock was father of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, and Grandfather of Gov. Hancock.

‡ Except Mr. Wheelock used to shake his head, when the pitch pipe was sounded, and Thomas Holt would leave the house at the sound of the pitch pipe, or when "funeral thought" was sung.

duction of the "New Version." Many were grieved because of the change, and two individuals proceeded further. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins,* the first metrical version of the Psalms, in English, was never used in this town. This was not in high repute; Eliot, Welde, and Richard Mather, in 1639, attempted a translation, but their labors were not valued; and President Dunster, the following year, was called upon to revise the collection. His improved version was the one in use in most of the New England Churches for many years—and, in Lancaster, till the time of Mr. Harrington. Probably about the year 1763, the collection by Tate and Brady was introduced. Early in 1665, a complaint was made that one of the members of the church, Moses Osgood, with his wife, Martha, had been absent from the communion service more than a year. On being inquired of by the church, why they absented themselves from the Supper, they sent a written reply, in which they say that the reason is, "the bringing in of the New Version, as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. Also we find, in said Version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. The composers of the said version, we find, have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the scriptures. And as for the hymns taken from the other parts of the bible, we know of no warrent in the bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantableness for them from the word of God. We are therefore waiting the removing or in some way or other the satisfying the above said doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest, &c." Further complaint was made against them, that they had declared "the church had broken their covenant with them, in bringing in the New Version of the Psalms, which they affirmed to be made for *Papists and Arminians, to be full of heresy, and in an unknown tongue.*" Also, that "Mr. Harrington asserted at the conference meeting, that he was one half the church, and that he would disannul the meeting."

For this second charge, the offenders made satisfaction; but on the first, the evidence that was adduced to exculpate, being consid-

*Thomas Sternhold, a Court poet, translated 51 psalms. John Hopkins, a clergyman, 58. The other contributors were, principally, William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Norton, a Barrister. See 3 Ellis' specimens of the early English Poets, p. 116.

ered insufficient, and no excuse being offered, the church voted an admonition and "suspension." The wife afterwards (1780, May,) came forward, made explanations that were deemed satisfactory, and was restored. The husband probably continued steadfast in adhering to the old version by President Dunster. I do not find that he forsook his first love, or that his suspension was broken off.*

Many of the clergy, of Mr. Harrington's time, had departed from the standard of faith professed by the churches in general, from the first settlement of New England. The prevailing doctrines from the beginning were those of Calvin, and it required no ordinary moral courage, seventy years ago, for any one to break asunder the shackles of religious dogmas that had encompassed all, and come out in the independent and conscientious avowal of a new system of doctrine. The people were not prepared for a sudden change of the faith which had been handed down from parent to child, for many generations, and which had collected veneration in its progress and by its long continuance. Most of the clergy, in this vicinity, who embraced the tenets of Arminius, soon found that the age was not arrived that would tolerate a departure from the metaphysical speculations of the old school. They were obliged, therefore, as honest men, to avow their sentiments, at whatever hazard, and in consequence, to relinquish their pastoral relations to their persuasion of the truth. Mr. Harrington however, who was of this class of believers, was regarded with singular affection by his people, and in that way probably, escaped the fate of his brethren.†

A history of this period in our Ecclesiastical affairs, impartially and faithfully written, would be a work of great interest to exhibit the spirit of inquiry and speculation, then just starting into existence, tracing it from its beginning, and shewing how the excitement of political discussion that was preparing the way for national independence, opened the mind to general inquiry in other subjects, especially to those relating to the true interests of man.

* He died, March 10, 1776. Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg, in 1771, delivered a discourse in Lancaster, "on the nature, pleasures and advantages of Church Music." This was probably about the time of the change introduced in the mode of singing, &c. See page 87, Note. The discourse was printed. Watt's superseded Tate and Brady, and Belknap, Watts in Lancaster.

† In justice however, it should be stated, that his conduct at this time was not decided and manly. Although fully an Arminian, he displeased many, at the time, by the temporising course he adopted. He was of the council assembled to decide upon the difficulties at Leominster, and voted for the dismission of Mr. Rogers, a theologian of the same persuasion.

The difficulties in Bolton resulted in the dismission of Rev. Mr. Goss, the minister, by a majority of the church in that place. To this cause they seem to have been driven by the course pursued by the Ecclesiastical council, which acquitted Mr. Goss of the charges brought against him—charges which, it seems, were true—at least sufficiently so to disqualify him for the duties of his holy office. The Council, besides, passed a censure on those who had dismissed Mr. Goss, and attempted to exclude them from partaking of christian privileges in other churches. The ground work of the whole difficulty was an effort, on the part of the clergy, to assume an arbitrary and irresponsible power over the laity, which led to a proper resistance on the part of the latter. In June, 1772, Samuel Baker, Ephraim Fairbanks, and Nathaniel Longley, a Committee in behalf of the Church in Bolton, sent a letter to the first Church. in Lancaster, containing a clear and satisfactory defence of their proceedings, as "not being a usurped authority, but as being the practice of the primitive churches—as being allowed by their own platform,—but still, a power they were unwilling to exercise, unless reduced to real necessity." They then inquire whether they are to be excluded from communion with other churches, and to be condemned without being heard. This letter was laid by Mr. Harrington, before his church, and the following is a copy of the proceedings. "At a meeting of the first Church in Lancaster, by adjournment, on July 21, 1772, voted as follows—Whether this church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally."

Passed in the affirmative. Which vote was nonconcurred by the Pastor as follows:—"Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational churches in general, to this church, in particular and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do before you, that I cannot concur with this vote.

"This vote shall be recorded, but my nonconcurrence must be recorded with it. And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied. But as the church act in their favor is not *perfected*, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us, till their society is in a more regular state."

Mr. Harrington continued to live in harmony with his people, during a long and useful ministry: no lasting disturbance injured his good influence; no root of bitterness sprang up between him

and his people. He is represented as having possessed respectable powers of mind, with great mildness and simplicity of character. Liberal in his feelings, he practised charity in its extended, as well as its narrow sense. True piety and an habitual exercise of the moral and social virtues, rendered him highly useful in his sacred office, and an interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life.

In 1787, Mr. Harrington, being quite advanced in life, received some aid from the town, in the discharge of his duties. From March, 1791, till the following spring, the gentlemen, who, in part, supplied the pulpit, were Messrs. Alden Bradford, H. U. 1786, afterwards settled at Wiscasset—now residing in Boston, and late Secretary of State; Thaddeus M. Harris, H. U. 1787, S. T. D. now a minister in Dorchester; Daniel C. Saunders, H. U. 1788, President of Burlington College, now minister in Medfield; and Rev. Joseph Davis.

In March, 1792, it was voted to settle a colleague with Rev. Mr. Harrington, and a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Harrington, touching his inclination respecting a colleague, &c. and to supply the desk for twelve weeks.* In July, 1792, "voted that the town will hear Mr. Thayer† a further time. June 3, 1792, the town voted unanimously to concur with the church, in giving him an invitation to be their minister, with a settlement of £200, and a salary of £90, during Mr. Harrington's life time, and £120 ($400‡) after his decease. The invitation was accepted in a letter dated Cambridge, July 11, 1793. The ordination was Oct. 9, 1793.§ The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, from Acts xx. 27. The other services were as follows, viz: Introductory prayer by Rev. Dr. Belknap; consecrating prayer, by Rev. Mr. Whitney; Charge, by Rev. Mr. Jackson; Right hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Emerson; Concluding prayer, by Rev. Dr. Clark. The following were the churches present: Leominster,

*The other gentlemen who preached here before the invitation given to the present minister, were Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D. of Roxbury, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D. of Wiscassett, Maine, Rev. Aaron Green, of Malden, Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, of Rutland, Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher, formerly of Lynn.

† H. U. 1789. Tutor, S. T. D.

‡ In 1804, $510; 1805, $400; 1811, raised permanently to $525.

§ Messrs. Joeph Wales, Oliver Carter, and Eli Stearns, were thanked by the town "for their timely and useful exertions in preparing suitable provision, &c. for the ordaining council, and for the polite manner in which they conducted the business of attending upon them, and it was voted, that their freely rendering this service be recorded in grateful remembrance of their generosity."

Rev. Francis Gardner; Lunenburg, Rev. Zabdiel Adams; Shirley, Rev. Phinehas Whitney; Harvard, Rev. William Emerson; Bolton, Rev. Phinehas Wright; Berlin, Rev. Reuben Puffer, D. D.; Sterling, Rev. Reuben Holcomb; Worcester, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D.; Brookline, Rev. Joseph Jackson; Newburyport, Rev. Thomas Cary, Rev. John Andrews, D. D.; Medford, Rev. David Osgood, D. D.; Cambridge, Rev. Abiel Holms, D. D.; Boston, First Church, Rev. John Clarke, D. D.; Federal Street, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; New North Church, Rev. John Eliot, D. D.

Mr. Harrington, preached but little during the last five years of his life. After being in an infirm state of health for some time, he died, December 18, 1795, in the 80th year of his age. A sermon was preached by his colleague and successor, at the funeral, Dec. 23, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, and was afterwards printed.*

Mr. Harrington was born in Waltham, Feb. 10, 1716, and graduated, Harvard University, 1737, in a distinguished class. He was first ordained, as we have already seen, at Swansey, in New Hampshire. After leaving Swansey, he preached in this town and other places as a candidate, till his settlement here, in Nov. 1648.

The building that had been used as a house for public worship from 1743, being old, and inconvenient, the town voted, Dec. 4, 1815, to erect a new building of brick. A farm a little to the northeast of the old house was purchased of Benjamin Lee, Esq. by a number of individuals, and two acres were conveyed by them to the town for the sum of $633 33, as apprised by Messrs. James Wilder, Moses Thomas and Thomas H. Blood, of Sterling. Messrs. Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher, and William Cleaveland, were chosen a

* Further, as to his character, see the above sermon, also two others from the same hand, printed Feb. 1817. Mr. Harrington's printed discourses, besides his Century Sermon, May 28, 1753, Psalm CXIX. 1, 2, were, "Prevailing wickedness, and distressing judgments, ill-boding symptoms on a stupid people." Hosea, vii. 9. Also, one at Princeton, Dec. 23, 1759, from 1 Cor. vii. 15.

Mr. Harrington was twice married. His first wife was Anna Harrington, of Lexington, a cousin, born June 2, 1716, and died, May 19, 1778. Their children were Henrietta, born at Lexington, 1744, and married John Locke, of Templeton, brother to President Locke, of the University; Arethusa born at Lexington, 1747. Eusebia, born at Lancaster, May 1751—married Paul Richardson, sometime of this place; afterwards of Winchester, N. H. Timothy, born Sept. 1753. H. U. 1776, a physician in Chelmsford, died, Feb. 26, 1804. His only son, Rufus, died in Boston, eighteen or nineteen years since. Dea. Thomas Harrington, born Nov. 1755, now living in Heath. Anna, born July, 1758, married Dr. Bridge, a physician in Petersham, son of Rev. Mr. Bridge of Framingham. After his death, she was married to Joshua Fisher, M. D. M. M. S. &c. of Beverly. They are both living. Mr. Harrington had other children who died in infancy. His second wife was widow of Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Framingham.

building committee. In January, 1816, it was voted, that the new church should contain not more than 4,400, nor less than 4,200 square feet, and that there should be a porch and portico, of such size as the committee should approve.

After the spot for the new church was selected, difficulties occurred in deciding whether the front of the building should be towards the west, or south. After much discussion, and various votes on the subject, at a number of different meetings, the parties agreed to abide by the decision of certain gentlemen from other towns mutually selected for the purpose.

The opinion of these gentlemen was in favor of a south entrance, and their decision being final, was acquiesced in after a short time.

The corner stone was laid July 9, 1816. A silver plate with this inscription was deposited beneath—"Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid, July 9, 1816. May God make our ways prosperous, and give us good success. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of our Church." A previous address was made by the pastor: 87th psalm, Belknap's collection, was sung, and prayer by the pastor concluded the exercises. The building was dedicated on the first day of January, A. D. 1817. Introductory prayer by Rev. Mr. Capen, of Sterling, "who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple." Dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester. Sermon, by the pastor of the Society, from Ephesians, ii. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bolton.

From a description of the building published at the time, I extract the following:—

The design of the edifice was by Charles Bulfinch, Esq.* of Boston. The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a porch, portico, tower and cupola. The portico is 48 by 17 feet, of square brick columns, arched with pilasters, entablature, and pediment of the Doric order; the vestibule, or porch, is 48 by 19 feet and contains the gallery stairs; the tower is 21 feet square; the cupola is circular, and of singular beauty;—it is surrounded with a colonade of 12 fluted pillars, with entablature, and cornice, of the Ionic order; above which is an Attic encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a dome, balls, and vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. Inside, the front of the gallery is of ballustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the Doric order, and has a clock in front, presented by a gentle-

* Now National Architect at Washington.

man of the society.* The pulpit rests on eight fluted columns, and four pilasters of the Ionic order: the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns also fluted, and is lighted by a circular headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted; entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order; this is decorated with a curtain and drapery from a Parisian model, which, with the materials, were presented by a friend;† they are of rich green figured satin. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend,‡ and a bell, weighing 1300 lbs. was given by gentlemen of the town.

The following is a complete list of baptisms and admissions to full communion from March 29, 1708, to the present time.

Baptisms during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	1593
From his death, Jan. 1748, to settlement of Rev. Mr. Harrington, Nov. 16, 1748.	38
During Rev. Mr. Harrington's ministry,	1531
From the ordination of Rev. Dr. Thayer, to the present time,	862
Total,	4024

Admissions during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	331
" " Rev. Mr. Harrington's, "	478
" " Rev. Dr. Thayer's "	307
Total,	1116

The town of Lancaster has ever enjoyed singular peace and harmony in its religious affairs. No Ecclesiastical council, so often the cause of bitterness at the present day, has ever been held within our limits, except for the purpose of assisting at ordinations. Within the present bounds of the town, there is, and never has been but one regular and incorporated religious society, and that of the Congregational denomination.

Individuals here, as well as in other towns, make use of the facilities which the law affords them and join themselves to other persuasions. In many instances, it is not to be doubted, this is done from conscientious motives—in others, a *certificate* proves a cheap and expeditious riddance of the expense of supporting the institutions of our holy faith, and a general indifference to their prosperity may be concealed under the appearance of scruples of conscience.

* Jacob Fisher, Esq.

† S. V. S. Wilder, Esq.

‡ Mr. Abel Wrifford.

MEMOIR OF JUDGE SPRAGUE.

The Hon. John Sprague was a citizen of Lancaster from Sept. 1, 1770, to the 21st of Sept. 1800, the time of his death. The town was much indebted to him for the correctness of their municipal proceedings, and the unanimity with which their affairs were conducted. He was born at Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, then Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on the 21st of June A. D. 1740, O. S. corresponding to the 2d of July, N. S. He was the son of Noah Sprague, Esq. by Sarah, his wife, who was a lineal descendant of Elizabeth Penn, the sister of Sir William Penn, who was an Admiral under Cromwell, and the father of William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania; her husband was William Hammond, of London. Benjamin Hammond, their son, removed from London to Sandwich, in the colony of Plymouth, married there in 1650, and thence removed to Rochester. John Hammond the second son by this marriage, married Mary Arnold, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Arnold, the first minister of Rochester, and Sarah, a daughter, by this marriage was Mr. Sprague's mother. Judge Sprague began to prepare for College in Dec. 1760, and entered therein at Cambridge at the end of the summer vacation after, viz. A. D. 1761. Having pursued his collegiate studies with reputation, he graduated in 1765, and soon after took charge of the grammar school in Roxbury; commenced the study of physic there, and pursued it under the instruction of the late Doct. Thomas Williams for a short time, viz. until May, 1766. In that month he removed to Worcester, abandoned the study of physic, and entered as a clerk in the office of Col. James Putnam, an eminent Barrister at Law, and kept a private grammar school there. At the May term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1768, he was admitted an Attorney of that Court, removed from thence to Rhode Island, and in the following Sept. was admitted an Attorney in the Superior Court in the county of Providence, colony of Rhode Island, &c. and opened his office in Newport; there he remained without the prospect of much business, in the diligent pursuit of his professional studies, until May, 1769, when he removed to Keene, in the county of Cheshire, then province of New Hampshire, where he pursued the practice of Law until Sept. 1, 1770, made himself acquainted with the people, and the business of the Courts there, and by his talents, industry and fidelity, acquired a reputation which long afterward afforded him extensive professional employment in the interior counties of that province. Inclined to take up his permanent abode in his na-

tive province, he then removed from Keene to Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, and opened an office in partnership with Abel Willard, Esq. a respectable Counsellor at Law, for the term of ten years, beginning the 21st of the same month. This partnership was interrupted by the war with Great Britain. Mr. Willard adhering to the King, left Lancaster in March, 1775, and never returned. In April, 1772, he was admitted an Attorney of the Superior Court at Worcester. In Dec. 1772, he married Catherine Foster, of Charlestown, the twelfth child and ninth daughter of Richard Foster, Esq. Sheriff of Middlesex; by this marriage, he had one son and two daughters. He was occupied in extensive professional employment, till arms silenced the laws; then he shared in the burdens and privations common to his neighbors and fellow citizens in the eventful period of the revolution. Having purchased a small farm in the centre of the town, he labored upon it as a farmer; dismantled himself of his linen and ruffles and other appropriate habiliments, and assumed the garments of labor, which were then the checkered shirt and trowsers. He was resorted to for counsel in all cases of difficulty which occurred, and toward the close of the revolution, when our government was formed, and business revived, he was one of the principal counsellors and advocates in our Courts of Justice. His legal learning was so well combined with and aided by common sense, and a sound discretion, that he was considered one of the most safe, discerning and upright counsellors in the Commonwealth. As an advocate, he was not the most eloquent, but such was the fairness of his statements and force of his arguments, that conviction seemed their natural result. He was cotemporary with the two Strongs, the late Governor, and the late Judge, both of the county of Hampshire, and the late Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester, and divided with them the multiplied business of advocating causes and collecting debts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex, and in the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire, in New Hampshire. In May, 1782, he was elected a representative of the town to the General Court, and in the January session following, a vacancy in the Senate occurring, being a candidate, voted for by the people, was elected by the Legislature to fill that vacancy, and was again elected to the Senate by the people in 1785. In February, 1783, he was first commissioned a Justice of the Peace and quorum, for the county of Worcester. So high was he held in the estimation of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, as a Lawyer, that at the February term of that

Court in Suffolk, 1784, he was made a Barrister at Law, and was called to that distinction by the first writ that issued for Barrister in the Commonwealth; the mode of admission preceding the revolution having been without writ. He was to have been admitted before the revolution, but the tumults in the country interrupted the Courts. He was elected to represent the town in the General Court in 1784 and 1785.

In 1786, Mr. Sprague was selected by the Government as the law adviser of Maj. Gen. Lincoln, to attend him in his expedition against Daniel Shays and his adherents, who had excited a rebellion in the Commonwealth.

May 5, 1787, he was bereaved of his wife, and in the latter part of the same year, he married Mary Ivers, the widow of Thomas Ivers, Esq. late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, and eldest child of Mr. John Cutler and Mary, his wife, of Boston, who survived him. In 1788, he was elected a member of the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The town was opposed to the ratification, and by a committee of seven gave him instructions to vote against it. Having confidence, however, in the intelligence and rectitude of their delegate, they so qualified the instructions as to leave him to vote as he should think proper. He was one of seven out of fifty members from the county, who voted in the affirmative. In the winter of the same year, he was appointed Sheriff of the county of Worcester, in the place of William Greenleaf, Esq. who was removed from that office. He was punctual and faithful in the performance of his official duties, reduced the former irregularities in the administration of the office to order and system, and resigned it in 1792.

He returned to the practice of law, and continued in it until 1798. He represented the town in the General Court from the year 1795 to 1799 inclusive. In 1798, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester. It was a new and valuable acquisition to have a learned lawyer at the head of the Judicial administration of the County, whose integrity and talents fitted him for the station, and whose justice and impartiality would ensure the confidence of all engaged in the business of the Court. In this office he continued until his death. His historical and legal knowledge, the accuracy of his mind, and its adaptation in the choice of language to express it on all subjects, rendered him a very useful member of the legislature, and he was looked to as a safe adviser and guide in the political and local concerns of the Commonwealth.

He was a lover of peace, and possessed a happy talent at reconciling jarring interests and harmonizing discordant feelings. Such were his mental qualities, so strong his sense of justice and honourable dealing, that he was selected, before he was on the bench, a commissioner or referee to adjust the numerous controversies which prevailed to an alarming degree in the then District of Maine, between those who, without title, had settled on the lands of the Commonwealth, of the Waldo Patent and Plymouth Company on the one part, and the lawful proprietors of them on the other. By his co-operating agency, together with the enactments thereon by the legislature, such a settlement of the contending claims was effected as restored peace and contentment to the parties.

In the course of his professional career, many young gentlemen of liberal education, entered his office as students in law, and derived from him the requisite instruction. Of the distinguished men now living who were his pupils, are the Honorable Edward H. Robbins, late Lieut. Governor of the Commonwealth, now Judge of Probate for the county of Norfolk.—The Honorable Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester.—The Honorable Artemas Ward, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—and John M. Forbes, Esq. now Charge d' Affairs, at Buenos Ayres.

In his domestic relations he was faithful and affectionate; a good neighbor, unostentatious in his professions of friendship, but manifested his sincerity by kindness and beneficence and untiring efforts to do good. He was a lover of order, and ready at all times to promote the interest and honor of the town. His charities, hospitality and benevolence are by many still remembered. The writer of this memoir, who was his neighbor, and at his desire by his bedside the last twenty four hours of his life, witnessed his calmness and resignation at the approach of death, and his faith in Him who giveth the victory.

His tomb stone, it is hoped, justly repeats the benediction of the Saviour,—"Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT, FROM THE FIRST ON RECORD, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1671	Thomas Beattle,	1737	Jabez Fairbanks,
1672	Thomas Beattle,	1738	Jabez Fairbanks,
1673	(Ralph ?) Houghton,	1739	Ebenezer Wilder,
1689	Ralph Houghton,	1740	Samuel Willard,
1693	John Houghton,	1741	William Richardson,
1697	John Houghton,	1742	Samuel Willard,
1705	John Houghton,	1744	Ephraim Wilder,
1706	John Houghton,	1745	William Richardson,
1707	Thomas Sawyer,	1746	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1708	John Houghton,	1747	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
7710	Josiah Whitcomb,	1748	William Richardson,
1711	John Houghton,	1749	William Richardson,
1712	John Houghton,	1751	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1714	Jabez Fairbanks,	1752	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1715	John Houghton,	1753	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1716	John Houghton,	1754	William Richardson,
1717	John Houghton,	1755	David Wilder,
1718	John Houghton,	1756	William Richardson,
1719	John Houghton,	1757	David Wilder,
1720	Joseph Wilder,	1758	William Richardson,
1721	John Houghton, Jabez Fairbanks,	1759	William Richardson,
		1760	William Richardson,
1722	Jabez Fairbanks,	1761	William Richardson,
1723	Jabez Fairbanks,	1762	David Wilder,
1724	John Houghton,	1763	David Wilder,
1725	Joseph Wilder,	1764	David Wilder,
1726	Joseph Wilder,	1765	David Wilder,
1727	Samuel Willard,	1766	Asa Whitcomb,
1728	Josiah White,	1767	David Wilder,
2729	Josiah White,	1768	Asa Whitcomb,
1730	Josiah White,	1769	Asa Whitcomb,
1731	Josiah White,	1770	Asa Whitcomb,
1732	James Wilder,	1771	Asa Whitcomb,
1733	James Keyes,	1772	Asa Whitcomb,
1734	Ephraim Wilder,	1773	Asa Whitcomb,
1735	Ephraim Wilder,	1774	Asa Whitcomb,
1736	Ephraim Wilder,	1775	Ebenezer Allen,

1775	Hezekiah Gates,	1778	William Dunsmoor,
1776	William Dunsmoor,		Samuel Thurston,
1777	William Dunsmoor,	1779	Joseph Reed.

UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

1780	William Putnam,	1807	Eli Stearns,
1781	William Dunsmoor,	1808	Eli Stearns,
1782	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1783	John Sprague,	1809	Eli Stearns,
1784	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1785	John Sprague,	1810	Eli Stearns,
1786	Ephraim Carter, Jr.		Jonas Lane,
1787	Michael Newhall,	1811	Jonas Lane,
1788	Michael Newhall,		Jacob Fisher,
1789	Michael Newhall,	1812	Jonas Lane,
1790	Ephraim Carter,		Jacob Fisher,
1791	Ephraim Carter, Jr.	1813	Jacob Fisher,
1792	Ephraim Carter, Jr.		William Cleaveland,
1793	John Whiting,	1814	William Cleaveland,
1794	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1795	John Sprague,	1815	William Cleaveland,
1796	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1797	John Sprague,	1816	John Thurston,
1798	John Sprague,		Edward Goodwin,
1799	John Sprague,	1817	John Thurston,
1800	Samuel Ward,		Benjamin Wyman,
1801	Samuel Ward,	1818	John Thurston,
1802	William Stedman,		Solomon Carter,
1803	Jonathan Wilder,	1819	Benjamin Wyman,
1804	Jonathan Wilder,	1821	Jacob Fsher,
1805	Jonathan Wilder,	1823	Jacob Fisher,
1806	Jonathan Wilder,	1826	John Thurston.
	Eli Stearns,		

Where any year is omitted the town was not represented. Beattle was afterwards one of the deputies from Concord. I do not know that he ever lived here. Thomas Sawyer was the one who was taken captive in 1705. Col. Asa Whitcomb, the revolutionary patriot who represented the town many years in the Legislature, is particularly mentioned in Mr. Goodwin's history of Sterling.

October, 1774, William Dunsmoor was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Convention at Concord.

Dunsmoor and Asa Whitcomb were delegates to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, February 1, 1775.

Joseph Reed and Ebenezer Allen, delegates to the State Convention in Concord, July 14, 1779, to the County Convention at Worcester on the second Tuesday of August, 1779, and to attend at Concord first Wednesday in October, 1779.

William Dunsmoor, Ephraim Wilder and William Putnam, delegates to the Convention in Cambridge, September, 1779. This was the Convention that formed our present Constitution of State Government.

Timothy Whiting and Ephraim Carter, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, April, 1782.

Ebenezer Allen, delegate to the County Convention at Leicester, August 1786.

John Sprague, delegate to the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution. It is worthy of remark that out of the whole County of Worcester on the question for adopting the Constitution, there were forty three nays and but seven yeas. The latter were Messrs. Sprague of this town, Seth Newton of Southborough, Samuel Baker of Bolton, David Wilder of Leominister, Matthew Patrick of Western, Josiah Goddard of Athol, and Ephraim Wilder of Sterling.

John Maynard, Jonathan Wilder, and William Cleveland, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, August, 1812.

Jacob Fisher and Davis Whitman, delegates to the Convention in Boston, November, 1820, for revising the Constitution of the State.

PUBLIC OFFICERS.

County Treasurer, Jonathan Houghton, 1731 to 1733.

Judge of Court of Common Pleas and Chief Justice, Joseph Wilder, 1731 to 1757.

Judge Court of Common Pleas, Samuel Willard, 1743 to 1753. Joseph Wilder, son of first Judge Joseph Wilder, 1762 to 1773. John Sprague, June 28, 1798, Chief Justice, July 31, 1798 to 1800.

Clerk of the Courts, William Stedman, 1810 to 1811. 1812 to 1816.

Sheriff, William Greenleaf, 1778 to 1788. John Sprague, 1788 to 1792.

Judge of Probate, Joseph Wilder, 1739 to 1757.

Assistant Justices of the Court of Sessions, John Whiting, March 1, 1808 to April 20, 1809. Timothy Whiting, November 14, 1811.

Senators, John Sprague, 1785 to 1786. Moses Smith, 1814 to 1816.

Representatives to Congress. William Stedman, 1803 to 1810.

Justices of the Peace. I have no means of being accurate prior to 1788. Soon after the settlement of the town, Major Willard, who resided here for a short time, was a magistrate by virtue of his office, as one of the Court of Assistants. After the town was rebuilt, came John Houghton, and, probably, he was the only magistrate for some years. Then followed Judge Joseph Wilder, father and son, Col. Oliver Wilder, Col. Samuel Willard, father and son, Col. Abijah Willard, and Abel Willard, William Richardson, Joseph Reed, —— Osgood, &c. After the peace, William Dunsmoor, and John Sprague.

Since 1788, they are as follows,* viz:

Appointed

March 14, 1788, Josiah Wilder.
Jan. 23, 1789, Israel Atherton.
Oct. 14, 1789, Timothy Whiting jr. quorum, Oct. 15, 1807.
Sept. 18, 1790, *William Stedman*, quorum, Jan. 21, 1801.
June 24, 1799, Samuel Ward, quorum, Jan. 28, 1806.
Feb. 1, 1803, *Josiah Flagg.*
June 14, 1803, *Benjamin Wyman.*
May 26, 1806, Joseph Wales.
May 13, 1808, Merrick Rice.
Oct. 18, 1809, Moses Smith, jr. quorum, July 3, 1816.
Dec. 17, 1811, Paul Willard.
June 16, 1812, *Jacob Fisher.*
Jan. 20, 1814, Ebenezer Torrey.
Dec. 3, 1816, *Edward Goodwin.*
June 9, 1821, John Stuart.
Jan. 24, 1822, *Jonas Lane.*
Aug. 26, 1823, *Levi Lewis.*
Jan. 7, 1825, *Joseph Willard.*
" " *William Willard.*

Those in Italics are now in commission.

ATTORNIES AND COUNCELLORS AT LAW.

Admitted to practice,

Worcester C. C. P. Nov. Term, 1755, Abel Willard, to 1775.—Removed.

Worcester, C. C. P. March Term, 1768, John Sprague, 1770 to 1800.—Died.

Admitted in Worcester, Levi Willard, about the year 1786—Died.

* This list was furnished by Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of State.

Essex, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1787, *William Stedman*, to 1810 and from 1821.

Worcester, March Term, 1789, Merrick Rice to 1815.—Removed to Harvard—Died.

Worcester, Dec. Term, 1802, Moses Smith to 1825.—Relinquished the practice.

Worcester, March Term, 1803, Samuel John Sprague to 1805—Died.

In Middlesex, John Stuart, here from 1821 to 1822.—Removed to Boston.

Worcester, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1811, John Davis, jr. to 1821.—Removed to Charlton.

Middlesex, Dec. Term, C. C. P. 1819, *Joseph Willard* from 1821, July; at Waltham from March 1820, to July 1821.

Middlesex, June Term, C. C. P. 1824, *Solon Whiting*, Attorney at Law.

Those in Italicks are now in practice in this town. Abel Willard, son of Col. Samuel Willard, who was representative of the town some years, was held in great esteem, and was the instrument of healing many differences without litigation. He went to London in 1775, earlier than was stated in a former note, and died there before the termination of the war. Samuel J. Sprague, Harvard University, 1799, was son of Judge Sprague, Harvard University, 1785, A. A. S. died Sept. 10, 1805, of an injury received by a fall. Levi Willard, Harvard University, 1775, born 1756. After leaving college he resided for some time in England, on his return he studied law with Judge Sprague. He opened an office in Lancaster, and practised there for a short time in 1786, and till his death. William Stedman, Harvard University, 1784. Merrick Rice, Harvard University, 1785. Joseph Willard, Harvard University, 1816, L. L. B. Solon Whiting, son of the late General John Whiting.

PHYSICIANS.

Daniel Greenleaf, died in Bolton.

John Dunsmoor, died Dec. 7, 1747, aged 45.

Staunton Prentice, died Dec. 1, 1769, aged 58.

Phineas Phelps, died Aug. 12, 1770, aged 37.

William Dunsmoor, died May 26, 1784, aged 50.

Israel Atherton, Harvard University, 1662, M. M. S. Soc. died July, 1822, aged 82.

Josiah Wilder, Y. C. died Dec. 20, 1788, aged 45.

James Carter, died 1817.

Samuel Manning, Harvard University, 1797, M. D. M. M. S. Soc. moved to Cambridge in 1821, died 1822.

Nathaniel Peabody, M. D. Dart. M. M. S. Soc. 1821 to 1822.
Calvin Carter, Licentiate.
George Baker, Harvard University, 1816, M. D. M. M. S. Soc.
Right Cummings, Licentiate,

The three last are now in practice here. Greenleaf from Newbury, I find first mentioned in 1734, and as late as 1760. John Dunsmoor, was probably born in Ireland. "Old father Dunsmoor," probably John's father, a member of the Church in Ireland, was admitted to communion in Rev. Mr. Prentice's Church, Aug. 21, 1740. Saunton Prentice was the eldest son of Rev. Mr. Prentice. William Dunsmoor was son of John. Israel Atherton, was a descendant of James Atherton, who came to Lancaster March 15, 1653. James had a son James born 13 May, 1654, Joshua born 13 May, 1656. Joshua was father of Col. Peter, born 12 April, 1705, died June 13, 1764. Peter was father of Hon. Joshua Atherton, born 20 June, 1737, and Dr. Israel, born Nov. 20, 1741. Josiah Wilder was son of Col. James Wilder. James Carter was son of Capt. James Carter, of this town. Samuel Manning was from Cambridge. Calvin Carter is son of Dr. James. George Baker is a native of Dedham, and Right Cummings, of Lunenburg.

Before the first Dunsmoor, and Greenleaf, the earliest of the *Faculty* in this town, was a female, "Doctress Whitcomb." The "Doctress" was here, probably, as early as A. D. 1700. *She studied the profession* with the Indians, with whom she was at one time a captive, and acquired her knowledge of simples from them. She was quite distinguished in this neighborhood as one of the *Faculty*. Before her time, there was no physician nearer than Concord.

GRADUATES AT DIFFERENT COLLEGES.

Harvard University.

1733* *Josiah Swan*, born 1701, minister of Dunstable, as before mentioned.

1752* Abel Willard, born Jan. 12, 1732.

1755* Samuel Locke, S. T. D. born Nov. 23, 1732, son of Samuel Locke of this town, minister of Sherburn, and President of Harvard University, 1770 to 1773, died in Sherburne of apoplexy.

1766 Peter Green, M. M. S. Soc. hon. born Oct. 1, 1745, son of the late Peter Green of this town. See ante note.

1770 *John Mellen*, Tutor, A. A. and S. H. S. born July 8, 1752.

1775* Levi Willard, born Aug. 13, 1756.

1776* Timothy Harrington, born Sept. 17, 1753. A physician in Chelmsford, as before mentioned.

1777* *Joseph Kilburn*, born Nov. 3, 1755 or 6.
1781* *Isaac Bailey*, born Feb. 24, 1753.
1798* Artemas Sawyer, born Nov. 2, 1777.
1799* Samuel John Sprague, born 1780.
1817 Sewell Carter, merchant in Lancaster.
1817* Moses K. Emerson, a physician, died in Virginia, 1825.
1817 Paul Willard, Counsellor at Law, Charlestown.
1821 Henry Lane, M. D. a physician in Boston.
1822 Samuel Manning studied law. He now risides in Mexico.
" Ebenezer Torry, Attorney at law in Fitchburg.
1823 Levi Fletcher, Chaplain U. S. Frigate Macedonian.
1824 Christopher T. Thayer, Theological student at Cambridge.
1825 Frederick Wilder, died at Northampton, "Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit," Feb. 1826.
1826 Stephen M. Weld.

Messrs. Mellen, Kilburn and Bailey, are of the "Chocksett literati." See Vol. 1. Worcester Magazine, 379, 380.

Dr. Josiah Wilder and Israel Houghton, Graduated at Yale College about ten years before the revolution. I have not the catalogue by me to fix the year.

Jacob Willard graduated at Brown University, 1826. William White, do. do. do. Theological students at Cambridge.

Abel Willard, son of Joshua W. of Petersham, entered Harvard University, 1772, left in 1775 and went to England with his uncle Abel Willard, Esq. of this town. Died in Canada.

Nathan Osgood entered Harvard University, 1782 and left.
Samuel Ward " " 1784, "
Jeffery Amherst Atherton, " 1791, died 1793.
Abel Willard Atherton, " 1795, and left.

Richard Cleveland and Henry Russel Cleveland are now in the Senior Class at the University.

NOTE ON THE WILDERS.

The tradition of the family is, that Thomas Wilder the first of the name in this country, came from Lancaster in England; that he settled in Hingham, and had four sons, that one son remained in Hingham, from whom are descended all of the name of Wilder, in that town and vicinity. I find that Thomas Wilder was made freeman, 2d June, 1641, and that he was of Charlestown in 1642. One named Edward took the freeman's oath, 29th May, 1644, and was afterwards of Hingham, (2 Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 221) but whether, or how, related to Thomas I do not know.

Thomas moved to Lancaster, July 1, 1659, was one of the selectmen, and died October 23, 1667. He left three sons in Lancaster, viz. Thomas, John and Nathaniel, from whom are derived all of the name of Wilder, in this town. *Thomas*, the eldest son, died August, 1717, aged 76, had Col James and Joseph. From James who married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister, came 2d Colonel James of Lancaster, and Gardner, in Leominster. From the last Colonel James, came James, Dr. Josiah, and Asaph, all of whose families are extinct. Gardner has many descendants now in Leominster.

Joseph, the son of Thomas above mentioned, married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister; he was a distinguished man in town, and possessed great influence. He was an active magistrate; for many years he represented the town in the Legislature, and was Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1731 to 1757, and Judge of Probate from 1739 to 1757. He died March 29, 1757, aged 74. His sons were Thomas of Leominster, Andrew, Judge Joseph, and Colonel Caleb. Joseph was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1762, to 1773, representative of the town in the Legislature, and died, April 20, 1773, aged 65. He and Col. Caleb were the first in America, who established pot and pearl-ash works. Caleb died, June 19, 1776, aged 59. Thomas, last named, had three sons, Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon, of the Senate, from 1786 to 1792: Thomas of Leominster, and Joseph of Winchendon. Caleb's sons were Samuel and Caleb of Ashburnham, Nahum and Levi. Samuel had a large family of sons. Caleb had two sons, one was Dr. Wilder of Templeton. Levi, who died Jan. 5, 1793, was father of the present Sampson V. S. Wilder of Bolton.

John, the second son of the first settler, had three sons, viz:—John, Thomas, and Ebenezer. From John came John of Petersham, Jonas of Bolton, Josiah and Jonathan of Sterling, Aholiab and Bezaleel of Shutesbury, William of Bolton; thomas had two sons, John of Ludlow, and Jotham. The latter four sons, Stephen and Titus, Jotham of Saltash, Vt. Reuben, do. From Stephen and Titus are descended the present Wilders in the "six nations."* From Ebenezer, Representative in 1739, who died, Dec. 25, 1745, aged 64, came Benjamin of Sterling, and David. From Benjamin, Col. Wilder, of Sterling. From David, who was a Representative many years, came David of Leominster, Samuel and John, Abel and Jacob of Vermont, Luke of Penobscot, and Jonathan.

*South part of Lancaster.

From David last named, is descended the present David of Leominster, commissioner of Highways, &c. Jonathan had eleven sons; nine lived to man's estate, viz:—Jonathan, David, John, Luke, Cephas, Prescott, Lewis, Henry, and Frederick. The last died at Northampton, in Feb. 1826, universally lamented.

Nathaniel, the third son of the first settler, lived in Lancaster, and was killed by the Indians, July 1704. From him are descended Jonathan, killed by the Indians August, 1707, Nathaniel of Petersham, Ephraim of Lancaster, a Representaive for a number of years, who died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94, and Col. Oliver. Nathaniel, last named, had a large family. Ephraim, had a son of the same name, who died March 17, 1770, aged 68. This last had three sons, Ephraim, Manassah, and William. Ephraim last named, settled in Sterling, had a large family, of whom Dea. Joel of this town is one. Manassah had two sons, Joseph and Sumner. William had two sons who left children, viz: Ephraim and Elijah.

Col. Oliver had four sons, Oliver, Tilley, Phineas and Moses. Oliver and Moses remained in Lancaster, and from them are descended all of the name of Wilder, in the westerly part of Lancaster, except Joel and Elijah.

NOTE ON SEVERAL OF THE NAME OF HOUGHTON.

Ralph and John Houghton, as has been before mentioned, were cousins, and came to Lancaster in 1653. Ralph wrote a good business hand and was recorder many years. He represented the town as a deputy in the general court in 1673, and 1689. He probably died a few years after. Of his children, were John, born April 28, 1655, and Joseph, born July 1, 1657. John, the cousin of Ralph, whose wife was Beatrix, had a son Benjamin, born May 25, 1668. William and Robert were also sons. There is reason to believe that he died April 29, 1684. John Houghton, Esq. was another son of John. He was born in England, it is said, in 1650, or 1651. He was quite young when his parents moved to Lancaster. From 1693 to 1724, inclusive, he represented the town fourteen years in the General Court. For a long time after the town was rebuilt he appears to have been the only magistrate in the place. He was quite celebrated in this neighborhood, as a man of weight and influence, and was a very skilful conveyancer. In this business he had great employment. He gave the land for the second meeting house. His dwelling house was on the south side of the old common, a little to the south west of Mr. Faulkner's. Three ancient pear trees planted by himself stand in front of the site of his house.

During the last twelve years of his life he was blind. He died Feb. 3. 1736–7 in the 87th year of his age.

The epitaph on his tomb stone, is the same that was common in the country a century ago. viz.

As you are
So were we
As we are
So you will be.

Jonathan Houghton, the first County Treasurer, was one of his sons.

ADDENDA.

A few additional memoranda, the names of those who "desired to be made freemen," taken from 2 Savage's Winthrop, just published. Those in *Italics*, at least those of the same name, were among the early settlers of Lancaster.

John Johnson, *Oct.* 19, 1630.
William Phelps, Oct. 19, 1630.
John Moore, May 18, 1631.
John Pierce, " " "
Thomas James, Nov. 6, 1632.—This was I presume, the minister of Charlestown, one of the same name perhaps a son, was here, 1653.
John White, March 4, 1632–3.
John Smith, " " "
Joshua Carter, May 14, 1634.
Richard Fairbanks, " "
John Hawkes, Sept. 13, 1634.
George Phelps, May 6, 1635.
John Whitney, March 3, 1635–6.
Edward Bennett, May 25, 1636.
Thomas Carter, March 9, 1636–7.
Thomas Rawlinson, May 2, 1638.—I must think this to be the same as Rowlandson, father of Rev. Joseph.
Thomas Carter, May 2, 1638.—probably the same as above, and ancester of the Carters in Lancaster.
William Ballard, May 2, 1638.
John Tower, Dec. 13, 1638.
James Bennett, " "
Henry Gains, Dec. 14, 1638.
Edward Breck, May 22, 1639.
Thomas Wilder, June 2, 1641.
John Mansfield, May 10, 1643.
John Thurston, " " "
Nathaniel Norcross, May 10, 1643.—This is the gentleman who was engaged to accompany the first planters, and was a "University scholar." Mr. Savage thinks that he returned to England.
William Fletcher, May 10, 1643.
John Carter, May 29, 1644.
Edward Wilder, " "
John Maynard, " "
Nathaniel Hadlock, May 6, 1646.
Thomas Carter, jr. May 26, 1647.
Samuel Carter, " " "
John Smith, " " "
John Pierce, May 10, 1648.

Richard Dwelley probably did not return to town after it was resettled, if he ever lived here. I find him mentioned as a soldier in Scituate, in 1676, 2. Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 229. "Others of the same town, (Watertown) began also a plantation at Nashaway, some 15 miles north west of Sudbury." 2 Savage's Winthrop, 152.

1648. "This year a new way was found out to Connecticut, by Nashaway, which avoided much of the hilly way." 2. Winthrop's N. E. 325.

Maze, Rigby, Kettle, and Luxford, names in Lancaster in 1668–9, disappeared as early probably as Philip's war.

Three acres of land in front of the house of Mr. Richard I. Cleveland, were used as a training field, in the time of the first Judge Wilder.

For the biography of the late Judge Sprague, I am indebted to William Stedman, Esq.

ERRATA.

PAGES.

259 line 17, for "fact," read part.

260 18th line from bottom for "area and of its branches," read area of its branches.

261 line 16 from top for "least," read last.

270 3d line from the bottom of the text, for "effected," read affected.

273 2d line from top, dele, and, in 2d note for "presented by the Court," read presented the Court.

274 line 18 from bottom for "1654 and 1655," read 1664, 1665.

276 line 12 from top for "Jonathan Prescott," read John Prescott, for "Peter Green aged 91," read 81.

291 17th line from top for "had," read lead.

297 3d line from bottom for "Soombes," read Toomb's.

307 last line of note (*) for "Jacob Z. Wearers," read Jacob Zweares.

308 8 and 9 lines from bottom read "Willard."

309 3d line from top after "excitement" add prevailed, 19th line from top for "Jeremeel," read Jeremy.

310 12 lines from top for "authography," read orthography, 16th line from top for "indulged," read indulge.

316 4th line from bottom for "or," read nor.

323 in note for "3 Ellis," read 2 Ellis.

324 6th line from top for "broken off," read taken off.

325 3d line from top dele, "cause."

326 21st line from top for "June 3, 1792," read June 3, 1793, last note for "Joeph," read Joseph.

The compiler living at a distance from the press, and not being able to revise the sheets, is the reason that some errata have crept into the work. Some typographical errors of less consequence, and those in the points, are not noticed.

WORCESTER MAGAZINE.

AND

HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

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MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS,

WHO SETTLED IN OXFORD, MASS. A. D. MDCLXXXVI.

BY ABIEL HOLMES, D. D.

With the permission of the Reverend and learned author, and through the kindness of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the editors have been permitted to copy the following notices from an interesting and elegant paper contained in the second volume of the third series of the "Historical Collections" now in the press, and still *unpublished*, entitled "*A memoir of the French Protestants who settled at Oxford, Massachusetts*, A. D. MDCLXXXVI. *with a sketch of the entire history of the Protestants of France*; *By* ABIEL HOLMES, D. D. *Cor. Sec'y Mass. Hist. Society.*"

The fact of the original settlement of the town of Oxford by the French emigrants has been scarcely known among our citizens: they will feel much indebted to the ingenious writer, well known as the author of the American Annals, for the interesting particulars, he has redeemed from oblivion.

On collation of copies of the original MSS. a few alterations have been made in the names, as originally printed, by the direction of the author of the memoir.

After an interesting notice of the history and sufferings of the French Protestants in their native land the author proceeds thus:—

M. CLAUDE, a distinguished defender of the Reformed church referring to the "dragoons," who were sent to the Protestants to extort from them an abjuration, says: "They cast some into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them, like criminals, on the rack and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives; others they took by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn catholics."

These tremendous cruelties compelled eight hundred thousand Protestants to quit the kingdom. The Protestants of other states

and kingdoms opened their arms to receive them. Abbadie, Ancillon, and others fled to Berlin; Basnage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many others, to Holland; Allix, with many of his brethren to England; very many families, to Geneva; and no inconsiderable number, to America.

It was while the storm was bursting upon them, in the year preceding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that the Protestants of Rochelle looked towards America, for an asylum. At an earlier period, indeed, they had applied to the Massachusetts government for this purpose; and, although they did not then avail themselves of the liberty given them, they were *now* encouraged by the remembrance of it. So early as the year 1662, "John Touton, a French doctor and inhabitant of Rochel in France, made application to the court" of Massachusetts, "in behalf of himself and other Protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty to inhabit there, which was readily granted to them." Their state, it would seem, was tolerable at that time, and they endured it; but at the time of the revocation, it was evidently insupportable. As they drew nigh that crisis, there were harbingers of "the windy storm and tempest." A declaration against the Protestants in 1681, was the forerunner of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1682, the Assembly of the clergy of France issued a "warning to the pretended Reformed," for so they styled the Huguenots, "to return to the bosom of the church." This menace, with the portentous indications accompanying and following it, must have been sufficient to warn the Protestants of the impending danger, and to incite them to concert measures for escaping it. The asylum which had been solicited and promised twenty years before, was again sought, and a renewed application made for it, in New England.

By a "Letter, written from Rochel, the 1st of October, 1684," to some person in Massachusetts, it appears, that some Protestants in that city were robbed, their temple razed, their ministers banished, their goods confiscated, and a fine imposed; that they were not allowed to become "masters in any trade or skill;" that they were in daily expectation to have soldiers put in their houses, and their children taken from them. The writer observes, that this country, New England, was in such high estimation, that many Protestants were intending to come to it; inquires what advantage they can have here, and particularly "the boors," who were accustomed to agriculture; and suggests, that the sending over of

a ship to transport the French Protestants, would be a profitable adventure.

Whether a vessel was sent, or not, we are unable to determine. The difficulty of escaping from the kingdom, by any means whatever, must have been extreme, and attended with the utmost peril. Every attempt must have been made in the very face of the edict, which prohibited a departure from the realm on the severest penalties. One of the articles of the edict of revocation was: "And we do most straitly again repeat our prohibitions unto all our subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, that neither they nor their wives nor children do depart our kingdom, countries, or lands of our dominion, nor transport their goods and effects, on pain, for men so offending, of their being sent to the gallies, and of confiscation of bodies and goods for the women."

It is certain, however, that a considerable number of Protestants by some means effected their escape from France, and came over to America; and authentic papers, in our possession, seem to imply, that their transportation and settlement were provided for by men of the first distinction in New England.

By the records of the town of Oxford, it appears, that, in the year 1682, the General Court of Massachusetts granted to Joseph Dudley, afterwards Governor of the province, William Stoughton, afterwards lieutenant governor and commander in chief, Major Robert Thompson, and their associates, a tract of land in the northwesterly part of the province, now known by the name of OXFORD, in the county of Worcester. This tract was "of eight miles square, and situated in the Nipmug country," so called from a tribe of Indians, of that name, in its vicinity. Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the proprietors "brought over thirty French Protestant families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said tract of land."* In an original MS. "Delineation of the town of Oxford," lying before me, it is laid out in lots in the names of the original proprietors. Between eleven and twelve thousand acres, at the east end, were "severed, granted, and set apart for a village called Oxford, for the said families."†

* Oxford Town Records. These Records, reciting the grounds of forfeiture in 1713, say: "The said Joseph Dudley and their associates in the year 168– brought over 30 French Protestant families," leaving the year uncertain. The Rev. Mr. Whitney, in his History of the County of Worcester, says, it was "in the year 1686."

† See APPENDIX, B.

These imperfect notices are all that we have been able to discover, of the time and the manner of the transportation of the French Protestants to New England. How long they continued on their plantation, what were their occupations, and what their progress in improvements, we have not been able precisely to ascertain. It appears, however, that the united body of settlers continued ten years at least, on the plantation; that they erected fortifications upon it; that they sat up a grist mill and a malt mill; that they planted vineyards and orchards—remains of which are still to be seen; and that they acquired the right of representation in the provincial legislature. Of this last fact, the public records preserve the evidence; for in the year 1693, an act was passed by the Massachusetts government, empowering Oxford to send a representative to the General Court.*

Every thing concerning this interesting colony of exiles has hitherto been learnt from tradition, with the illustrations derived from scanty records and original manuscripts. Many of these manuscripts, which are generally written in the French language, were in the possession of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, and the rest were principally procured by Mr. Sigourney for the compilation of this Memoir.†

The oldest Manuscript that I have seen, is an original paper, containing "Articles of Agreement between Caleb Church of Watertown, mill-wright, and Gabriel Bernon of Boston, merchant," concluded in March, 1689, by which the said Church covenants, and agrees to "erect a corn or grist mill, in the village of *Oxford*." This instrument was sealed and delivered in presence of J. Berrand Du Tuffeau. "THO. DUDLEY."

Church's acknowledgment of a receipt "in full following our bargain," is signed at "Boston, 4th Februarii, 168 $\frac{9}{90}$ the witnesses of which were Peter Basset and Gabriel Depont. The pa-

* Mr. Whitney, who takes a very slight notice of the French settlement in Oxford, mentions this act, as appearing "by the records in Secretary's office of the Commonwealth."

†Mr. Andrew Sigourney is a descendant from the first of that name who was among the original French settlers of Oxford. To his kindness I am indebted for nearly all my materials for this part of the Memoir. After giving me every facility at Oxford, in aid of my inquiries and researches, he made a journey to Providence for the sole purpose of procuring for me the Bernon papers, which he brought to me at Cambridge. These papers were in the possession of Philip Allen, Esq. of Providence, who married into the Bernon family; and who has since indulged me with the MSS. to the extent of my wishes.

per is endorsed, "Contract de M^r. Church pour le Moulin de New Oxford."

We can clearly trace the French plantation down to the year 1696; at which time it was broken up by an incursion of the Indians. By original manuscripts, dated that year and at subsequent periods, it appears, that Gabriel Bernon, a merchant, of an ancient and respectable family in Rochelle, was undertaker for the Plantation, and expended large sums for its accommodation and improvement. An original paper in French, signed at Boston, in 1696, by the principal settlers, certifies this fact in behalf of Mr. Bernon; and subjoins a declaration, that the massacre of Mr. Johnson, and of his three children by the Indians was the melancholy cause of his losses, and of the abandonment of the place.*

Upon the dispersion of the French settlers from Oxford, it appears, that many, if not most of them, came to Boston. From the distinction which many of the families attained in the metropolis it may be fairly inferred, that they approved themselves to the citizens, whose hospitality they experienced, and to whose encouragement and patronage they must have been greatly indebted for their subsequent prosperity. They appear to have adhered to the principles, and, so far as they were able, to have maintained the institutions of religion, according to the Reformed church in France. It was *for* their religion that they suffered in their native country; and to enjoy its privileges, unmolested, they fled into the wilderness. While at Oxford, they enjoyed the ministrations of a French Protestant minister.† Of their religious affairs, however, we have no distinct account, until their settlement in Boston, after the Indian Massacre in 1696.

It is well known that the French refugees had a church of their own in Boston, where they, for many years, attended divine service. The Rev. Peter Daille was their first minister; and he was highly esteemed. He was succeeded by the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, who is described as "a worthy character." He was the author of "The Church History of Geneva, and a Political and Geographical Account of that Republic," printed at Boston, in 1732. By intermarriages and otherwise, it appears that, in process of time, the French families became so blended with the other inhabitants of the town, as to render a separate and distinct religious service either unnecessary, or impracticable; for, in the life time of Mr.

*See APPENDIX, C. †See APPENDIX, D.

Le Merceir, their church was, for some years, unoccupied, and at length, sold for the use of a new Congregational church.*

Whether the French exiles never dared to return to the plantation from which they fled in such terror and dismay, or whether they became so advantageously settled in Boston as not to wish to return, or whatever were the cause, they never did, as a body return to Oxford. Permanent inhabitance, it may be presumed, had been a condition of the grant; for the lands of that township reverted to the original proprietors. By the Records of the town, under the date of 1713, it appears that the French settlers had "many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said village;" that, upon public proclamation, they had refused to return; and that most of them had voluntarily surrendered their lands. The proprietors having recited these facts, and farther stated, that "there were sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province, who offer themselves to go and resettle the said village, whereby they may be serviceable to the province, and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained," proceed to grant and convey these lands to several persons and others, their associates, "so as their number amount to thirty at least." The instrument of this conditional grant is dated the 8th of July, 1713. The requisite number of associates was obtained; and, about a year and a half after the above date, a distribution was made by lot among the thirty families.†

There are but few relicks, or memorials, of the French settlement, now to be found in Oxford. Of these the most interesting are to be seen on a very high hill which lies in the southwest part of the town, and commands a beautiful and extensive prospect. The village of Oxford beneath, and the rural scenery around, are delightful. The hill is about a mile south of that part of the village, at which is the junction of two great roads leading from Boston, one through Westborough and Sutton, and the other through Marlborough and Worcester; and, after uniting in one at Oxford, passing through Dudley, Woodstock, Brooklyn, and other towns, to Norwich, in Connecticut. It is called Mayo's Hill, and sometimes Fort Hill, from a fort, built on its summit by the French Protestants. The farm, on which the remains of the fort are, is owned by Mr. John Mayo, whose grandfather, of Roxbury, was the original purchaser. The fort is a few rods from the dwelling house. It was evidently constructed in the regular form, with bas-

* See APPENDIX, E. † See APPENDIX, F.

tions, and had a well within its enclosure. Grape vines, in 1819, were growing luxuriantly along the line of the fort; and these, together with currant bushes, roses, and other shrubbery, nearly formed a hedge around it. There were some remains of an apple orchard. The currant and asparagus were still growing there. These, with the peach, were of spontaneous growth from the French plantation; but the last of the peach trees were destroyed by the memorable gale of 1815.

Of the French refugees, who settled in the other American colonies, we have but imperfect accounts. It is well known that many of them, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and afterwards, settled in New York, Virginia, and Carolina.*

New Rochelle, in the state of New York, was settled by French Protestant emigrants from Rochelle, in France. A French Protestant Episcopal church was founded in the city of New York by the French Huguenots, soon after the Revocation. Between these refugees and those who came to Massachusetts, it appears by the Bernon papers, there was some correspondence. The historian of New York, about the middle of the last century, says, "The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable handful. The building, which is of stone, nearly a square, plain both within and without. It is fenced from the street, has a steeple and a bell, the latter of which was the gift of Sir Henry Ashurst of London."† M. Pierre Antonie Albert was a rector of this church in our day. He died in 1806, in the forty first year of his age.

In 1690, king William sent a large body of French Protestants to Virginia; to whom were assigned lands on the banks of James river, which they soon improved into excellent estates.

Among the colonies in America, which reaped advantage from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Carolina had a large share. Many of the French refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved to be some of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

*See NOTE V.

†Smith's New York. On the front of the church is the following inscription:

ÆDES SACRA
GALLOR. PROT.
REFORM.
FVNDA. 1704.
PENITVS
REPAR. 1741.

These purchasers made a settlement on Santee river; others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charleston, and followed their different occupations. Carolina had begun to be settled but fifteen years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and these new settlers were a great acquisition to that colony.† It is worthy of remark, that, more than a century before, Admiral Coligny had attempted a settlement of French Protestants in the territory now called Carolina, then Florida; and that, at length, under the auspices of the English, this same country became an asylum for them, as it had been originally intended by Coligny.

It should heighten our respect for the French emigrants, and our interest in their history, to be reminded of the distinguished services, which their descendants have rendered to our country, and to the cause of civil and religious liberty. Gabriel Manigault, of South Carolina, assisted this country, which had been the asylum of his parents, with a loan of $220,000 for carrying on its revolutionary struggle for liberty and independence. This was done at an early period of the contest, when no man was certain, whether it would terminate in a revolution or rebellion." Of the nine presidents of the old congress, which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, three were descendants of French Protestant refugees, who had emigrated to America in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These were, Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, John Jay, of New York, and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

The lapse of a century since the resettlement of Oxford, by the ancestors of its present inhabitants, has nearly obliterated the remembrance of the fact of its original settlement by the French. A river, which runs through the town, does indeed bear up their name; but *why* it was so called, if known there, is scarcely known in the vicinity. The river runs about three quarters of a mile west of the great road that leads over Oxford plain, and falls into the Quinebaug in the town of Thompson, in Connecticut. The Quinebaug I had known from early life, as passing through Oxford, and Thompson, and joining the Shetucket at Norwich; but

†Smith Hist. New York. Allen's Biog. Dict. *Art.* ALBERT. Beverly's Hist. of Virginia. Hewatt's S. Carolina, i. 94. Ramsay's Hist. S. Carolina, i. 10.

this smaller stream, the bridge over which is at a considerable distance below the village of Oxford, had not attracted my particular notice. In passing it, nine years ago, seeing a boy near the bridge, I asked him, What is the name of this river? "French river," he replied. Why, I asked, is it called *French* river? "I believe," said he, "there was some French people once here"—pointing up the stream. On my arrival at the village, I inquired of Mr. Campbell, the innkeeper, who gave me sufficient information on the subject to excite farther inquiry, and to render all the subsequent labor of investigation delightful. Mr. Campbell was of the family of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, formerly a respectable minister of Oxford. Having married a daughter of Mrs. Butler, who was a descendant of one of the French settlers, he referred me for information to his wife, who after telling me all that she knew, referred me to her mother. I waited upon Mrs. Butler, who obligingly told me all that she could recollect concerning the French emigrants.

Mrs. Butler was the wife of Mr. James Butler, who lives near the first church in Oxford; and, when I saw her, was in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Her original name was Mary Sigourney. She was a granddaughter of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who came over when young, with his father, from Rochelle. Her grandmother's mother died on the voyage, leaving an infant of only six months (who was the grandmother of Mrs. Butler,) and another daughter, Mary Cazneau, who was then six years of age. The information which Mrs. Butler gave me, she received from her grandmother, who lived to about the age of eighty-three, and from her grandmother's sister, who lived to the age of ninety-five or ninety six years.

Mrs. Butler's Reminiscences.

The refugees left France, in 1684, or 1685,* with the utmost trepidation and precipitancy. The great grandfather of Mrs. Butler, Mr. Germaine, gave the family notice that they *must go*. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put upon the children, and left the pot boiling over the fire. When they arrived at Boston, they went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for; and there they continued until they went to Oxford. They built one fort on Mayo's hill, on the east side of French river; and, tradition says, another fort on the west side. Mrs. Butler believed, they had a minister with them.

* Mrs. Butler's account was entirely verbal, according to her recollection. Mrs. Butler died in 1823, Ætat. LXXXI.

Mrs. Johnson, the wife of Mr. Johnson who was killed by the Indians in 1696, was a sister of the first Andrew Sigourney. Her husband, returning home from Woodstock while the Indians were massacring his family, was shot down at his own door. Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of the guns, ran to the house, and seizing his sister, pulled her out at a back door, and took her over French river, which they waded through, and fled towards Woodstock, where there was a garrison. The Indians killed the children, dashing them against the jambs of the fire-place.

Mrs. Butler thinks, the French were at Oxford eighteen or nineteen years. Her grandmother who was brought over an infant, was married, and had a child, while at Oxford. This fact would lead us to believe that the Sigourney family returned to Oxford after the fear of the Indians had subsided. It is believed in Oxford, that a few families did return. These families may have returned again to Boston in about nineteen years from the time of their first set tlement in Oxford, agreeably to Mrs. Butler's opinion; in which case, the time coincides with that of the erection of the first French church in Boston, 1704–5. Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who furnished the written materials for this Memoir, still lives on or near the place that was occupied by his ancestors.

Mrs. Butler lived in Boston until the American revolution, and soon afterwards removed to Oxford. Her residence in both places rendered her more familiar with the history of the emigrants than she would have been, had she resided exclusively in either. She says, they prospered in Boston, after they were broken up at Oxford. Of the memorials of the primitive plantation of her ancestors she had been very observant, and still cherished a reverence for them. Mrs. Shumway, of French extraction, living near the Johnson house, showed her the spot where the house stood, and some of its remains. Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury, about fifty-five years of age [1817,] has seen the chimney and other remains of that house. His mother, aged about eighty-four years, told Mrs. Butler that there was a burying place, called "The French Burying Ground," not far from the fort at Mayo's Hill. She herself remembers to have seen many graves there.

French Families.

Mrs. Butler named as of the first emigrants from France, the following families:

Bowdoin, and Boudinot came to Boston:—could not say, whether or not they came to Oxford.

Bowyer, who married a Sigourney.

Germaine :—removed to New York.

Oliver :—did not know whether this family came to Oxford, or not; but the ancestor, by the mother's side, was a Sigourney.

Sigourney. Andrew Sigourney, son of the first emigrant of that name, was born in Oxford, and died in 1763, aged sixty years He was the uncle of Mrs. Butler, my informant; of the late Martin Brimmer, Esq. of Boston, and Mr. Andrew Brimmer, still living; and of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, of Boston.

No branch of the Bowdoin family is known to have been settled south of New England. Governor Bowdoin left one daughter, the lady of Sir John Temple, sometime consul general of Great Britain in the United States. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John and Lady Temple, was married to the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq. of Boston, a member of the senate of Massachusetts, and now (April, 1826) candidate for lieutenant governor. Mrs. Winthrop died in 1825. In that truly honorable lady were combined dignity with ease, intellectual with polite accomplishments, benevolence of temper with beneficence in action, Christian principles with the Christian graces. One of the sons, Francis William Winthrop, a young man highly distinguished as a scholar, and of very fair promise, was graduated at Harvard College in 1817, but died soon after he had finished his education. Another son, James, who, since the death of his uncle James Bowdoin, has taken his name, is the only representative of the Bowdoins, of that name, now living in New England.

Some future antiquary may perhaps trace the original name to the famous Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who, according to French authority, spelt his name precisely as the first of this family in America, *Baudouin*. He died in 1118, and his remains were deposited in a church on Mount Calvary. Fleury, in his Histoire Ecclesiastique, Edit. 1779, gives an account of nineteen eminent persons, from the "compte de Flanders," A. D. 862, to Baudouin, "jurisconsulte," A. D. 1561, whose names are uniformly written *Baudouin*.

The Hon. Samuel Dexter, senior, father of the late Mr. Dexter, who married a Sigourney, was a member of the first provincial congress in Massachusetts, and founder of the Dexter professorship of Sacred Literature in the University in Cambridge. Soon after the commencement of the revolutionary war, he removed with his family to Woodstock, in Connecticut. He had a large library,

which attracted much attention at the time of its removal; and he was greatly devoted to the use of it in his retirement, to the close of his life. He was a gentleman of a highly respectable character, possessed of a handsome estate, and enjoyed, far beyond most literary men in our country, *otium cum dignitate*. He spent a few of his last years at Mendon, in Massachusetts, where he died in 1810; but his remains were interred, according to the directions of his Will, at Woodstock. I have seen the lot in which he was buried, not far from the first church in my native town; but no sign of his grave can be traced. It was his own directions, that his body should be interred in the exact centre of the lot, and the grave levelled on the surface, and the whole lot cultivated alike, that no distinction might be perceived. There is a good portrait of Mr. Dexter at the Library of our University. Mrs. Dexter I well remember while at Woodstock. She was a respectable lady, of dark complexion, with characteristic French features, and pronunciation.

Very soon after my visit to Mrs. Butler, I received a letter from her husband, expressing her regret, that she had not mentioned to me Mrs. Wheeler, a widow lady, the mother of Mr. Joseph Coolidge, an eminent merchant in Boston. Her maiden name was Oliver. She was a branch of the Germaine *family*, and *related* to "old Mr. Andrew Sigourney," in whose family she was brought up, and at whose house she was married. Mrs. Butler supposed, she must be between eighty and ninety years of age, and that, being so much older than herself, she had heard more particulars from their ancestors; but, on inquiry for Mrs. Wheeler in Boston I found that she died a short time before the reception of the letter.

How much do we lose by neglecting the advice of the Son of Sirach!—"Miss not the discourse of the elders; for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth."

Remains of the French Fort.

My first visit to Fort Hill in Oxford was 20th April, 1819. It is about a mile southerly of the inn, kept many years by the Campbell family, at the union of the two great roads from Boston and Worcester, about fifty miles from Boston. Mr. Mayo, who owns the farm on which the fort stands, believes, that his grandfather purchased it of one of the French families; and Mr. Sigourney, of Oxford, thinks it was bought of his ancestor, Andrew Sigourney. I measured the fort by paces, and found it 25 paces by 35. With-

in the fort, on the east side, I discovered signs of a well; and on inquiry, was informed that a well had been recently filled up there.

On a second visit to the Fort, in September of the same year, I was accompanied, and aided in my researches, by the Rev. Mr. Brazer, then a Professor in our University, who went over from Worcester, and met me, by agreement, in Oxford. We traced the lines of the bastions of the fort, and were regaled with the perfumes of the shrubbery, and the grapes then hanging in clusters on the vines, planted by the Huguenots above a century before.* Every thing here, said Mr. Mayo, is left as I found it.

We next went in search of the Johnson place, memorable for the Indian massacre in 1696. Mr. Peter Shumway, a very aged man, of French descent, who lives about thirty rods distant from it, showed us the spot. It is at a considerable distance from the village, on the north side of the road to Dudley, and is now overgrown with trees. We carefully explored it, but found no relicks. The last year (1825) I called at Mr. Shumway's. He told me, that he was in his ninety-first year; that his great grandfather was from France; and that the plain, on which he lives, is called "Johnson's Plain."

While Mr. Brazer was prosecuting our inquiries concerning a second fort, and a church, that had been mentioned to me by Mrs. Butler, he received a letter (1819) from Mr. Andrew Sigourney, informing, that captain Humphrey, of Oxford, says, his parents told him, there was a fort on the land upon which he now lives, and also a French meeting-house, and a burying ground, with a number of graves; that he had seen the stones that were laid on the top of them, as we lay turf, and that one of the graves was much larger than any of the others; that *they* were east and west, but *this*, north and south; and that the Frenchman who lived in this place, named Bourdine, had been dead but a few years.

In May, 1825, I visited captain Ebenezer Humphrey, and obtained from him satisfactory information concerning the place of this second fort, and the meeting house, and the burying ground. Captain Humphrey was in his eighty-fourth year. He told me, that his grandfather was from England, and that his father was from Woodstock, and came to Oxford to keep garrison. He him-

* The following fact has been communicated to the writer of the memoir by Mr. Sigourney. A bill of lading, dated London, March 5, 1687, of a variety of merchandize, &c. shipped on board the ship John and Elizabeth, mentions among the rest, "two chests of vine *plants*, marked X 5 X," and were to be delivered "to Mr. Daniel Stading, or Petre a Sailla."

self now lives where his father lived, about half a mile south east from Oxford village. His house is near a mill, standing upon a small stream that runs on the left near the great road leading to Norwich. About fifty or sixty rods from his house, he showed me the spot where the fort stood, and, near it, the lot upon which were the meeting-house and burying ground. No remains of either were visible. He pointed to an excavation of the earth, where, he said, was a well, which had been filled up. It was at the place of the fort, and had been, probably, within it. In the lot there were apple trees, which, he told me, he heard his father say, "the French set out." His father must have been a competent witness; for he was seventy years old when he told him this, and he himself was then twenty years of age. The field was under fine cultivation; but I could not forbear to express my regret, that the memorials of the dead had not been preserved. He said an older brother of his had ploughed up the field, and it was in this state when it came into his possession. He told me, that one of his oldest sisters said, she remembered the old horseblock, that stood near the French meeting-house. He said, he had seen the blood on the stones of the Johnson house; and that Mrs. Johnson, on the night of the massacre, went to Woodstock. Bourdille (so he pronounced it) lived near the brook, which runs by his house. The land of captain Humphrey, upon which were a French fort, and church, and burying ground, lies near the foot of Mayo's hill, on the summit of which stood the great Fort, whose remains are still to be seen.

Of this interesting place we feel reluctant to take leave, without some token of remembrance, beside the mere recital of facts some of which are dry in the detail, while many others are but remotely associated with it. Were any monumental stone to be found here, other memorials were less necessary. Were the cypress, or the weeping willow, growing here, nothing might seem wanting, to perpetuate the memory of the dead. Any contributions of the living, even at this late period, towards supplying the defect, seem entitled to preservation. The inquiries and researches of visitants from abroad drew the attention of the villagers at home. In 1822, the writer of the Memoir received a MS. Poem on the French exiles, superscribed "Oxford;" anonymous, but apparently from a female pen. It was of considerable length, and not equally sustained throughout; but the tender and respectful regard shown by the writer to those excellent pilgrims, who left "not a stone to

tell where they lie;" and her just reflections upon the value of religious liberty, and the iniquity and horrors of tyranny, entitle her to high estimation. Many lines do honor to her genius, and all of them to her sensibility. If she is a descendant from the Huguenots, this is a tribute of filial piety; if not, it is an oblation of generous sympathy.

The same year a letter was also received from a lady, well known in our literary community, enclosing a poetical tribute to the memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, which is not less worthy of her pen, than of her connexion.* Her marriage with a worthy descendant of one of the first French families that settled in Oxford, fairly entitled her to the subject, which her pen will perpetuate, should the Memoir be forgotten. A leaf of the grape vine was enclosed in the letter, which has this conclusion: "We received great pleasure from our visit to Oxford, and as we traced the ruins of the first rude fortress erected by our ancestors, the present seemed almost to yield in reality to the past. I send you a leaf from the vine, which still flourishes in luxuriance, which, I am sorry to say, resembles our own natives of the woods a little too strongly. Something beside, I also send you, which savours as little of the Muse's inspiration, as the vine in question does of foreign extraction; but if poetical license can find affinities for the latter, I trust your goodness will extend its mantle over the infirmity of the former."

On visiting a Vine among the ruins of the French fort at Oxford, (Mass.) supposed to have been planted by the Huguenots, who made settlements at that place, when they fled from their native country, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

Say, did thy germ e'er drink the fostering dews
Of beauteous Languedoc?—Didst thou unfold
Thy latent fibre 'neath the genial skies
Of smiling Rousillon?—or fragrant hang
In purple cluster from some fruitful vine
Of fair Rochelle?—Perchance thy infant leaves
Have trembled at the bitter sigh of those
Whom Tyranny oppress'd, or shuddering caught
That silent tear which suffering Virtue sheds
In loneliness—that tear which witnesseth
To the high Judge.—Not by rash, thoughtless hands
Who sacrifice to Bacchus, pouring forth
Libations at his altar, with wild songs
Hailing his madden'd orgies, wert thou borne

* Mrs. L. Huntley Sigourney.

To foreign climes—but with the suffering band
Of pious Huguenots didst dare the wave,
When they essay'd to plant Salvation's vine
In the drear wilderness. Pensive they mark'd
The everlasting forest's gloomy shade,
The uncultur'd vale, the snow-invested heath
Tracked by the vengeful native; yet to rear
Their Temple to the Eternal Sire, and pay
Unfetter'd homage to his name were joy,
Though on their hymn of praise the desert howl'd.
The savage arrow scath'd them, and dark clouds
Involv'd their infant Zion, yet they bore
Toil and affliction with unwavering eye
Fix'd on the heavens, and firm in hope sublime
Sank to their last repose.—Full many a son
Among the noblest of our land, looks back
Through Time's long vista, and exulting claims
These as his Sires.—They sleep in mouldering dust,
But thou, fair Vine, in beauteous verdure bloom'st
O'er Man's decay. Wooing thy tendril green
Springs the wild Rose, as if it fain would twine
Wreaths for its native soil.—And well it may;
For here dwells Liberty and laurelled Peace
Lending to life new lustre, and with dews
Etherial bathing Nature's charms. The child
Of Poverty feels here no vassalage, nor shrinks
From Persecution's scourge. The simplest hind,
Whether he homeward guides his weary team,
Beneath the evening star, or whistling leads
To pastures fresh with morn his snowy sheep,
Bears on his brow in deepen'd characters
"Knowledge is Power."—He too, with filial eye
Unchecked, undimm'd, marks blest Religion come,
In simple mildness, binding on the heart
Her law of love, gilding each gather'd cloud
Of varied sentiment, that o'er the dust
Of Earth's low confine hangs—with beams serene
From that bright Sun which shall hereafter blend
All fleeting shades in one effulgent smile
Of Immortality.

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING MEMOIR.

[B. Page 350.]

The paper containing the "Delineation of the Town of Oxford" is endorsed, "Papiers qui regarde New Oxford." The chirography is evidently French. With the delineation there is an

account of the village and town, in the following words: "Oxford Village or the general Plantation containing 11,245 acres, whereof the proprietors common Way 265 acres, and Mauchaug in deficient, 172... 437. Rest 10808 acres.—The town of Oxford, including its village, called the General Plantation, containes 41245 acres, viz. the five grand lotts. On the W. side of the dividing line, each 3000... 15000, and on the East side thereof.. each 3000... 15000.

The Village Plantation .. 11245. The 41245 general."

Nipmuck river (called by the English settlers of New England, *Blackstone*) takes its rise in Sutton, and receiving several tributary streams in its course, falls into Providence river just below Providence. It is there called Pawtucket. When the French settled Oxford, there was a town of praying Indians at Hassanamesitt [Grafton,] about two miles to the eastward of Nipmuck river, "and near unto the old road way to Connecticut," consisting of about twelve families, and about sixty souls. "Here," says Gookin,* "they have a meeting house for the worship of God, after the English fashion of building, and two or three other houses after the same mode. In this town was the second Indian church (Natick being the first) gathered in 1671; and three years afterwards there were in full communion in this church, and living in the town, about sixteen men and women; and about thirty baptized persons, and several other members living in other places. The church had a pastor, Tackuppawillin, a ruling elder, and a deacon. In 1674 the Rev. John Eliot and general Gookin, visited "the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The first of these," says Gookin, "is Mauchage, [Oxford,] which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river about eight miles, and is from Hassanamesitt, west and by south, about ten miles; and it is from Boston about fifty miles. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixteen souls. For this place we appointed Waaberktamin, a hopeful young man for their minister. There is no land yet granted by the general court to this place, nor to any other of the praying towns. But the court intendeth shortly, upon the application and professed subjection of those Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have done for other praying Indians." Gookin's Hist. Collections of the Indians in New England, printed in Coll. Mass. Hist. Society, in 1792.

*A. D. 1674.

C.

[Page 349.]

Nous sousignes certiffions et ateston que Monsr. Gabriel Bernon non a fait une despance [depense] considerable a new oxford pour faire valoir la Ville et encourager et ayder les habitans. et quil [qu'il] a tenu sa maison en etat jusques a ce que en fin les Sauvages soient venus masacrer et tuer Iohn Johnson et ses trois enfens [enfans Iet que netant [n' etant] pas soutenu Il a été obligé et force d' abandoner son Bien. en foy de quoy lui avons signe le present Billet, a Baston le 4e Septembre 1696:

Jermons Baudouin Benja faneuil
Jacques Montier Nous attestons ce qui est desus et
† marque [est] veritable.
X marque depaix cazaneau
Mousset Entien [Ancien]
V marque de abraham Sauuage
Jean Rawlings Ancien
*marque de la vefue de Jean Jeanson
P. Chardon
Charle Germon Entien

Nous certiffions que ce sont les marques de personnes susdites.

Daillé ministre Baudouin
Jacques Montier Barbut
Elie Dupeux André Sigourmay
Jean Maillet Jean Millet ant.

Nous déclarons ce que dessus fort veritable ce que John Johnson et ces trois enfans ont eté tué le 25e. Aoost [Aout] 1696: en foy de quoy avons signé

Montel Dispeux I B marque de Jean baudoin
Jacques Depont Philip [*obscure*]
Jermon René Grignon

Je connois et Je le say d' experiance que mr. Gabriel bernon a fait ses efforts pour soutenir notre plantation, et y a depancé pour cet effet un bien considerable.

Bureau L'ainé [*The elder or senior.*]
Peter Canton.

We underwritten doe certifie and attest that mr. Gabriel Bernon hath made considerable expences at Newoxford for to promote the the place and incourage the Inhabitants and hath kept his house

until the s^d. 25^e. August that the Indians came upon s^d. Plantation & most barbarously murthered John Evans John Johnson & and his three childrens. Dated Baston 20^th Septemb. 1696.

John Usher

Wm. Stoughton
John Butcher
Increase Mather
Laur. Hammond
Charles Morton
Jer. Dummer
Nehemiah Walter min^r.
Wm. Fox.

D.

[Page 349.]

That the French settlers at Oxford had a minister of their own, appears from a letter, written by him to some person in authority [probably gov. Dudley,] complaining of the sale of rum to the Indians, "without order and measure," and of its baneful effects. The date is lost, with a line or two at the beginning; but is endorsed, "M^r. Dan^l. Bondet's Representation referring to N. Oxford July 6^th 1691." He mentions it as upon "an occasion which fills my heart with sorrow and my life of trouble, but my humble request will be at least before God, and before you a solemn protestation against the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell in our place. The rome [rum] is always sold to the Indians without order and measure, insomuch that according the complaint sent to me by master Dickestean with advice to present it to your honor. The 26 of the last month there was about twenti indians so furious by drunkness that they fonght like bears and fell upon one called remes ....., who is appointed for preaching the gospel amongst them he had been so much disfigured by his wonds that there is no hope of his recovery. If it was your pleasure to signifie to the instrumens of that evil the jalosie of your athoriti and of the publique tranquility, you would do great good maintaining the honor of God, in a Christian habitation, conforting some honest souls wich being incompatible with such abominations feel every day the burden of afflixion of their honorable perigrination aggravated. Hear us pray and so God be with you and prosper all your just undertakins and applications tis the sincere wish of your most respectuous servant

D. Bondet
minister of the gospell in a
French Congregation at newoxford."

The government probably interfered, and took measures to prevent the repetition of the evil complained of. The above paper was found in the Secretary's office, and shown to me by Mr. secretary Bradford, who, at my request, searched the government papers, in aid of my inquiries. The "representation of the *minister* may have induced the government to appoint him a missionary to the natives in the neighborhood of Oxford; for, in another communication, Mr. Bradford informed me: "In 1695, Mr. Bondet, a French Protestant minister, preached to the Nipmug Indians . . . in the south of Worcester county."

E.

[Page 350.]

LETTERS AND PAPERS FROM THE BERNON MSS.
IN THE POSSESSION OF PHILIP ALLEN, ESQ. OF PROVIDENCE.

Letter from Gov. Dudley to G. Bernon, dated,
"Roxbury April 6, 1715."

"SIR,

We are now in a way to thrive at Oxford, and I particularly thank you for what you have done towards a Grist Mill in the Village, by giving the mill stones and irons to Daniel Eliot, conditionally that the mill should be built to serve the town within such a perfixed time which is now past and nothing done. I desire you to write to him to go forward immediately so as to finish the mill presently to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants, or that you will order the said mill and irons to be given to such other person as will go forward in the work, that they may not be starved the next wintér.

I pray you to take effectual order in the matter.

I am your humble servant,
J. DUDLEY."

Superscribed
"To Mr. Gabriel Bernon
Narraganset."

The answer of Mr. Bernon is dated "Kingstown 30 April, 1715." He writes, that, according to the letter from his excellency, he had "ordered Mr. Daniel Eliot to finish the Crist Mill at Oxford, or to let the town have the two mill stown to set the mill in a convenient place. It will be a great blessing to strive [thrive] after so much distorbance: And if I can but have the freinship and charity

of your Excellency in my old time, with a young wife and a second family in this New World, I may be happy and blessed." . . . . . In a petition, afterwards, to Gov. Shute, he says, . . . "being now near 80 years of age, and having several children by my first wife, and so seeing children of my children. I have since married an English woman, by whom also I have several children," &c. . . . .

By a statement of G. Bernon, intended to prove his claim upon the plantation, it appears, that he considered "the Plantation of New Oxford" indebted to him for 2500 acres of land, besides the amount of expenses laid out by him upon the place. This claim appears to have been made about the year 1717, or 1720; for on his account there is a charge of interest "for above 30 years." The statement alleges, that 500 acres of the plantation were "granted by their Excellencys M^r. Dudley and M^r. Stoughton to Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau and Gabriel Bernon in the year 1687," and that 250 acres were "granted since, making in all 750 aikers;" and that "their Excellencys M^r. Dudley and M^r. Stoughton did grant to the said M^r. Bernon for his own use alone 1750 aikers more, which makes in all 2500 aikers, which M^r. Bernon justly claims, upon which he hath built a corn miln, a wash leathern miln, and a saw miln, and laid out some other considerable expences to improve the town of New Oxford, as he has made appear by the testimonys of several worthy gentlemen whose names he has hitherto subjoined.

The four elders of the French Church
Mousset, Railing, Charden, Babut } Daillie ministre of the French Church.

William Fox
Benj. Faneuil
P. Jermon
Jacques Montier
Paix Cazaneau
Abraham Sauvages
Jacque Depau
Jean Beaudoin
Rean Grignon
Phelippe Emgerland

Governor Usher
William Stoughton
Increase Mather mtre.
Charles Morton mtre.
Jer. Dummer
Nehemiah Walter minr.
John Butcher
Laurence Hammond.

By the Inhabitanc of New Oxford.

Montel
J. Dupen
Capt. Jermon
Peter Cante
Bereau Caëini
Elie Dupeu

Ober Jermon
Jean Maillet
Andre Segourne
Jean Milleton
Peter Canton
&c.

The Weidow Leveufe Jean Johnson of which her husband and three children was kil and murder by the Ingen."

By a plan of Mr. Gabriel Bernon's land in Oxford, taken in 1717, it appears, that it measured 2672 acres, "exclusive of M^r. Daniel Bondet's of 200 acres, and out of said 2672 acres must come out

172 acres of meadow in one entire piece, which Mr. Dudley and Compa. give to the village." The tract of land "within this Plan" was estimated by the selectmen of Oxford "to be worth one thousand pound;" and this valuation was certified by them on the plan, 11 January 1716–17. *Signed*, Richard Moore, Benoni Twitchel, Isaac Larned. Another certificate was given on the same paper by the selectmen of Mendon, concerning the justness of the above valuation, adding, "that we know nothing but the said Bernon hath been in the quiet possession of said land for or nere thirty years." *Signed*, Thomas Sanford, Robert Evans, Jacob Aldrich.

By another paper in the MS. Collection, it appears, that Mr. Bernon petitioned the king in council for certain privileges, which indicate the objects to which the enterprize of this adventurer was directed. It is entitled, "The humble Petition of Gabriel Bernon of Boston in New England." It states: "That being informed of your Majesty's pleasure, particularly in encouraging the manufactory of Rosin, Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine, &c. in New England, in which manufactory your Petitioner has spent seaven years time and labor and considerable sums of money and has attained to such knowledge and perfection, as that the said comodities made and sent over by him have beene here approved of and bought for your Majesty's stores; your Petitioner's zeal and affection to your Majesty encouraged him to leave his habitation and affairs (being a merchant) and also his family to make a voyage to England on purpose humbly to propose to your Majesty in how great a measure and cheap price the said Navall stores may be made and brought into any of your Majesty's kingdomes to the great promotion and advantage of the Trade and Commerce of your Majesty's subjects of New England, all which is most evident by the annexed paper." He prays his Majesty to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him his royal patent or order for providing and furnishing his Majesty's fleet with the said stores under the conditions his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit, or otherwise to except him out of any patent to be granted for the said manufactory, that he "may have liberty to go on and continue in the said manufactory in any part of New England."

This paper is endorsed: "Peticon Gabriel Bernon."

"Papiers qui regarde deux voyages de Londre pour les affaires a fabriques des Resme. Examne le premier Octobre 1719."

In 1720, Gabriel Bernon, "of New Oxford in New England," presented a petition to his excellency governor Shute, and to his

Majesty's council, and house of representatives in General Court assembled. In this petition he states, that he was "one of the most ancient families in Rochel in France; that upon the breach of the Edict of Nantes, to shun the persecution of France he fled to London; that upon his arrival, ———Teffereau, Esq. treasurer of the Protestant churches of France presented him to the honorable society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England; that Mr. Thompson the governor [president] offered to "instal him in the said society," and offered him land in the government of the Massachusetts Bay; whereupon Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau desired him "to assist him to come over to New England to settle a plantation for their refuge," that he did advance him such sums, as, "with the exchange and interest from that time, would amount to above one thousand pounds; that Du Tuffeau, arriving at Boston with letters of credit from Major Thompson and himself, "delivered them to his late excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. and the honorable William Stoughton, Esq. deceased, who granted to the said Du Tuffeau 750 acres of land for the petitioner at New Oxford, where he laid out or spent the abovesaid money." Mr. Bernon farther stated in his petition, that Du Tuffeau allured him by letters to come to Boston: that the said Du Tuffeau, "being through poverty forced to abandon the said plantation, sold his cattle and other moveables for his own particular use, went to London, and there died in an hospital." Mr. Bernon closed his statement by observing, that, excited by letters of Du Tuffeau, he shipped himself, his family, and servants, with some other families, and paid passage for above forty persons; that, on their arrival at Boston, he presented letters from Major Thompson to Dudley and Stoughton, Esquires, "who were pleased (besides the 750 acres that were granted to Bertrand Du Tuffeau and the petitioner) to grant him 1750 acres of land more; and," he adds, "for a more authentick security his late Excellency and Honour was pleased to accompany me to Oxford, to put me in possession of the said two thousand five hundred acres, which I have peaceably enjoyed for better than these thirty years last past, having spent above two thousand pounds to defend the same from the *Indians*, who at divers times have ruined the said Plantation, and have murdered men, women, and children."

At the close of the petition he represents, that the inhabitants of New Oxford now disputed his right and title, in order to hinder him from the sale of said plantation, which would put him to the

utmost extremity, "being now near eighty years of age," and having several children, all which have dependence, under God, for a subsistence on him, after he had "spent more than ten thousand pounds towards the benefit of the country, in building ships, making nails, and promoting the making of stuffs, hats, rozin &c." The object of this petition was, to obtain such titles, as would confirm to him and his family the said lands, "without any misunderstanding, clear and free from any molestation either from the inhabitants of New Oxford, or any pretensions of Bertrand Du Tuffeau."

Neither the merits, nor the success, of this claim are known to the writer of this memoir.

F.

[Page 360.]

SECOND SETTLEMENT OF OXFORD.

Copy of a Deed conveying the Lands in Oxford to the second Company of Settlers, 1713.

Exracted from the Records of the town of Oxford at Mr. Campbell's the town Clerk, by A. H. 1817.

"To all people unto whom these presents shall come Joseph Dudley of Roxbury in the county of Suffolk and Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Esq. W^m^. Taylor of Dorchester in the same county Esq. Peter Sergeant of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Mehetabell his wife, John Danforth of Dorchester aforesaid and Elizabeth his wife, John Nelson of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, as they the said W^m^. Taylor, Peter Sargeant, John Nelson and John Danforth are the heirs and executors of the Hon. W^m^. Stoughton late of Dorchester Esq. deceased, send greeting: Whereas the General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in the year One thousand six hundred and eighty two granted to the said Joseph Dudley, W^m^. Stoughton, major Robert Tompson and their Associates a certain tract of land scituate in the Nipmug Country, of eight miles square, for a Township &c. as may be seen more at large by the Records of said General Court, Pursuant whereunto and for the uses aforesaid the said Joseph Dudley W^m^. Stoughton and their Associates in the year one thousand six hundred eighty and brought over thirty French Protestant Families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said Tract of land, and severed, granted, and sett apart 12000 acres for a village called Oxford for the said Families,

and bounded it as by a Platt upon Record will manifestly appear: But forasmuch as the said French families have many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said Village, and the said lands as well by their deserting the same, and refusing to return upon public Proclamations made for that end, as by the voluntary surrender of most of them are now reinvested in, restored to, and become the estate and at the disposition of the original proprietors their heirs and successors for the ends aforesaid. And whereas there are sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province who offer themselves to go and resettle the said village whereby they may be serviceable to the province and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained: Now Know Ye, That the said Joseph Dudley, W^m^. Taylor, Peter Sergeant and Mehetabell his wife, John Nelson and Elizabeth his wife, and John Danforth and Elizabeth his wife, for and in consideration and to the uses and intents abovementioned, Have fully, freely, and absolutely and by these presents do give grant and confirm unto Samuel Hagbour, John Town, Daniel Eliott, Abiel Lamb, Joseph Chamberlin, Benj^a^. Nealand, Benoni Twitchell, Joseph Rockett, Benj^a^. Chamberlin, Joshua Whitney, Thomas Hunkins, Joseph Chamberlin jun. Oliver Coller, Daniel Pearson, Abram Skinner, Ebenezer Chamberlin, James Cotter, Isaac Learned, Eben^r^. Learned, Thomas Leason, Eben^r^. Humphry, Jon^a^. Tillotson, Edmund Tailor, Ephraim Town, Israel Town, W^m^. Hudson, Daniel Eliott jun^r^. Nathaniel Chamberlin, John Chandler jun^r^. John Chandler and others their Associates, so as their number amount to thirty families at least, All that Part of the S^d^. Tract of Land, &c. &c. PROVIDED ALWAY, That if any of the persons grantees above named or any of their associates shall and do neglect to settle upon and improve the said land with themselves and families by the space of two years next ensuing, or being settled thereon shall leave and desert the same and not return to their respective habitations in the said Town upon due notice given, That then and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for the rest of the Grantees and their Associates heirs or assigns respectively or the major part of them to seise upon and take the said Estate or Estates of such person or persons so deserting, &c. . . .

In witness whereof the party abovenamed to these presents have hereunto interchangably set their hands and seals the 8^th^. day

of July in the 12th. year of her Majesty's Reigne Annoq. Dom. 1713.

JOSEPH DUDLEY (SEAL.)
WM. TAYLOR (SEAL.)"
&c. . . . .

"Boston July 15th. 1713 Recd. and Recorded with the Records of Deeds for the Cty. of Suffolk, Lib. XXVIImo. fol. 174 &c. per Addington Davenport Register." [Attested by John Town, *Town Clerk.*]

Division of Land.

From Oxford Town Records.

The draft of ye first Division of Land voted to be drawn on January ye 18th. $\frac{14}{15}$ To each man of the 30 to his house lot—his choice according to the lot he draws each man's lot to be 60 acres.

Daniel Eliot jun.	1	John Coller	16
Ephm. Town	2	Joshua Whitney	17
Saml. Hagbourn	3	Joseph Rocket	18
Benony Twichel	4	Ebenr. Larned,	19
Isaac Larned	5	Joseph Ghamberlin	20
Joshua Chandler	6	Thomas Hunkins	21
Ebenr. Humphry	7	Edmund Taylor	22
Daniel Pearson	8	Ebenr. Chamberlin	23
Wm. Hudson	9	Nathl. Chamberlin	24
Benja. Nealand	10	Jonathan Tillotson	25
Josb. Chamberlin jun.	11	Oliver Coller	26
Daniel Eliot	12	John Chandler jun.	27
Abiel Lamb*	13	Benja. Chamberlin	28
Thomas Gleason	14	Abram Skinner	29
John Town	15	Israel Town	30

* Died not many years ago, aged upwards of 90 years. He often "told about the Great Snow," which occurred when he was a boy [1717–18.]

A CATALOGUE OF THE SEVERAL CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS IN THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

* Denotes those who died in office. Those in *Italics* are now in the Ministry.

When Settled.	*Names.*	*Dismissed.*	*Deaths.*	*Age.*
ASHBURNHAM.				
1760, April 23,	*Jonathan Winchester,		1767, Nov. 27.	
1768, Nov. 2,	*John Cushing,		1823, April 27,	79
1824, Feb. 25,	*Ebenezer Perkins.*			
ATHOL.				
1750, Nov. 7,	James Humphrey,	1782, Feb. 13.		
1787, Nov. 21,	*Joseph Estabrook.*			
BARRE.				
1753, Oct.	Thomas Frink,	1766, July 17.		
1767, Oct. 7.	*Josiah Dana,		1801, Oct. 1,	60
1804, Jan. 11,	*James Thompson.*			
BERLIN.				
1781, Sept. 26,	*Reuben Puffer, D. D.*			
BOLTON.				
1741, Nov. 4,	Thomas Goss,	1771, Aug. 13,	1789, Jan. 17,	68
1773,	John Walley,	1784.		
1785, Oct. 26	*Phineas Wright,		1802, Dec. 26,	56
1804, Mach, 14,	*Isaac Allen.*			
BOYLSTON.				
1743, Oct. 26,	Ebenezer Morse,	1775, Nov. 10,	1802, Jan. 3,	84
1777, March 27,	Eleazer Fairbanks,	1793, April 23.		
1794, March 12,	*Hezekiah Hooper,		1795, Dec. 2,	26
1797, June 7,	Ward Cotton,	1825, June 22.		
1826, June 21,	*Samuel Russell.*			
BROOKFIELD, WEST PARISH.				
1717, Oct.	*Thomas Cheney,		1747, Dec. 11,	57
1749, Sept. 13,	Elisha Harding,	1755, May 8.		
1757, Nov. 23,	*Joseph Parsons,		1771, Jan. 17,	39
1771, Oct. 23,	*Ephraim Ward,		1818, March 9,	77
1816, Oct. 23,	Eliakim Phelps,	1826, Oct. 25.		
1826, Oct. 26,	*Joseph I. Foote.*			
NORTH BROOKFIELD.				
1752, June 3,	Eli Forbes, D. D.	1775, March 1,	1804, Dec. 15,	78
1776, Oct. 30,	*Joseph Appleton,		1795, July 24.	
1798, June 27,	*Thomas Snell.*			
SOUTH BROOKFIELD.				
1758, May 24,	*Nathan Fiske, D. D.		1799, Nov. 24,	67
1801, March 11,	*Micah Stone.*			
CHARLTON.				
1761, Oct. 15,	Caleb Curtis,	1776, Oct. 29.		
1783, Jan. 8,	Archibald Campbell,	1793, April 9.		
1797, Nov. 8,	Erastus Learned,	1802.		
1804, Jan. 25,	Edwards Whipple,	1820,	1822, Sept. 17,	44
DANA.	*Jacob Whipple.*			
DOUGLAS.				
1747, Dec. 16,	William Phipps,	1765, July 10.		
1771, Oct. 30,	Isaac Stone,	1805, Oct. 28.		
1808, March 19,	*David Holman.*			
DUDLEY.				
1735,	Perley Howe,	1743.		
1744, Oct. 31,	*Charles Gleason,		1790, May 7.	
1790, Dec. 1.	Joshua Johnson,			

When Settled.	*Names.*	*Dismissed.*	*Death.*	*Age.*
1799, June 12,	*Abiel Williams.*			
FITCHBURG.				
1768, Jan. 27.	John Payson,	1794, May 8.		
1797, Sept. 27,	Samuel Worcester, D. D.	1802, Sept. 8,	1821, June 7,	50
1805, Oct. 16,	William Bascom,	1813, Dec. 15.		
1 15, Aug 30,	William Eaton,	1823.		
1824, June 30,	*Calvin Lincoln.*			
2 PARISH,				
1805, April 12,	Titus T. Barton,	1813, Feb. 20.		
1824, Feb. 4,	*Rufus A. Putnam.*			
GARDNER.				
1791, Oct. 19,	*Jonathan Osgood,		1822, May 21,	61
1823,	*Sumner Lincoln.*			
GRAFTON.				
1731, Dec. 29.	Solomon Prentice,	1747, July 8.		
1750, June 6.	Aaron Hutchinson,	1772, Nov. 18.		
1774, Oct. 19,	Daniel Grosvenor,	1788, Jan. 1.		
1796, Oct. 12,	John Miles,	1826, Sept. 14.		
1826, Sept. 21,	*Moses C. Searle.*			
HARDWICK.				
1736, Nov. 17,	*David White,		1786, Jan. 6,	74
1789, June 25,	Thomas Holt,	1805, March 27.		
1805, Oct. 30,	William B. Wesson,	1824, June 30.		
HARVARD.				
1733, Oct. 10,	John Seccomb,	1757, Sept. 7.		
1759, Dec. 12,	Joseph Wheeler,	1768, July 28,	1793, Feb. 10,	58
1769, Nov. 1,	*Daniel Johnson,		1777, Sept. 23,	
1782, June 19,	*Ebenezer Grosvenor,		1788, May 28,	49
1792, May 23,	William Emerson,	1799, Sept. 10,	1811, May 11,	42
1801, June 3,	Stephen Bemis,	1813, June 3,		
1814, Jan. 26,	Warren Fay,	1819, Dec. 15.		
1823, Jan. 1,	*Ira H. T. Blanchard.*			
SECOND PARISH.				
1821, Sept. 12,	*George Fisher.*			
HOLDEN.				
1742, Dec. 22,	Joseph Davis,	1772, Oct. 18,	1799, March 4,	79
1774, Dec. 21,	*Joseph Avery,		1824, March 5,	73
1823, Oct. 22,	*Horatio G. Bardwell.*			
HUBBARDSTON				
1717, June 13,	Nehemiah Parker,	1800, June 16,	1801, April 20.	
1802, Oct. 20,	David Kendall.			
1810, Oct. 17,	*Samuel Gay.*			
LANCASTER.				
1658,	*Joseph Rowlandson,		1680.	
1691,	*John Whiting,		1697, Sept. 11,	33
1701, Sept.	*Andrew Gardner,		1704, Oct. 26,	30
1708, March 29,	*John Prentice,		1746, Jan. 6,	66
1748, Nov. 16,	*Timothy Harrington,		1795, Dec. 18,	80
1793, Oct. 9.	*Nathaniel Thayer, D. D.*			
LEICESTER.				
1721, Sept. 15,	David Parsons,	1735, March 6.	1737.	
1736, June 30,	*David Goddard,		1754, Jan. 19,	48
1754, Oct. 23,	Joseph Roberts, jr.	1762, Dec. 14.	1811, April 30,	91
1763, Nov. 23,	Benjamin Conklin,	1794, June 30,	1798, Jan. 30,	65
1798, Jan. 10.	Zephaniah S. Moore, D.D.	1811, Oct. 28,	1823, June 30,	59
1812, March 4,	*John Nelson.*			
LEOMINSTER.				
1743, Sept. 14,	John Rogers,	1758, Jan.	1789, Oct.	
1762, Dec. 22,	*Francis Gardner,		1814, June 4,	76

When Settled.	*Names.*	*Dismissed.*	*Death.*	*Age.*
1815, May, 10	William Bascom,	1820, Feb.		
1821, Jan. 24,	*Abel Conant.*			
2d. PRECINCT.				
1758,	John Rogers,	1788.	1789. Oct.	
1825,	*Philips Payson.*			
LUNENBURG.				
1728, May 15,	Andrew Gardner,	1732, Feb. 22.		
1733, April 18,	*David Stearns,		1704, March 9,	52
1762, Sept. 8,	*Samuel Payson,		1763, Feb. 14,	
1764, Sept. 5,	*Zabd'l. Adams,		1801, March 1,	62
1802, Oct. 6,	Timothy Flint,	1814, June 7.		
1815, Feb. 1,	*David Damon.*			
MENDON.				
1667,	Joseph Emerson.			
1680,	*Grindal Rawson,		1715, Feb. 6,	57
1716,	*Joseph Dorr,		1768, March 9,	79
1769, April 19,	Joseph Willard,	1782, Dec. 14,		
1786, April 12,	Caleb Alexander,	1805, Dec. 7.		
1805, Oct. 2,	Preserved Smith.			
1815, Jan. 18,	*Simeon Doggett.*			
SECOND PARISH.				
1768,	Benjamin Balch,	1772, March 27		
MILFORD.				
1743, Dec. 21,	*Amariah Frost,		1792, March 27	72
1801, May 20,	*David Long.*			
MILLBURY.				
1747, Oct. 7,	James Welman,	1760, July 22.		
1764, Nov. 14,	Ebenezer Chaplin,	1792, March 22	1822, Dec. 13,	89
1794, Sept. 10,	*Joseph Goffe.*			
NEW BRAINTREE.				
1754, April 8,	*Benjamin Ruggles,		1782, May 12,	82
1778, Oct. 29,	*Daniel Foster,		1795, Sept. 4,	44
1796, Oct. 26,	*John Fiske.*			
NORTHBORO.'				
1746, May 21,	*John Martyn,		1767, April 30,	61
1767, Nov. 4,	*Peter Whitney,		1816, Feb. 29,	72
1816, Oct. 30,	*Joseph Allen.*			
NORTHBRIDGE.				
1783, June 25,	*John Crane, D. D.*			
OAKHAM.				
1768, April 1,	John Strickland,	1773, June 2.		
1786, June 22,	*Daniel Tomlinson.*			
OXFORD.				
1721, March 11,	*John Campbell,		1761, May 25,	71
1764, Nov. 14,	Joseph Bowman,	1782, Aug. 28,		
1791, April 13,	Elias Dudley,	1799, March,	1808, Jan. 25,	46
1805, March 27,	Josiah Moulton,	1813, April 6.		
1816, Feb. 2,	*David Batcheller,		1822, Oct. 24,	41
1823, Dec. 17,	*Ebenezer Newhall.*			
PAXTON.				
1767, Oct. 21,	*Silas Biglow,		1769, Nov. 16.	
1770, Nov. 28,	Alexander Thayer,	1782, Aug. 14.		
1785, Sept. 8,	John Foster,	1789, April.		
1793, Nov. 5,	Daniel Grosvenor,	1802, Nov. 17.		
1808, Feb. 17,	*Gaius Conant.*			

When Settled.	*Names.*	*Dismissed.*	*Death.*	*Age.*
PETERSHAM.				
1738, Dec.	Aaron Whitney,	1775, May 24,	1779, Sept. 8,	66
1780, Oct. 25,	Solomon Reed,	1800, June 25,	1808, Feb. 2.	55
1802, Jan. 13,	Festus Foster,	1817, Dec. 1.		
1819, June 23,	*Luther Wilson.*			
PHILLIPSTON.				
1788, Nov 5,	Ebenezer Tucker,	Feb. 5. 1799.		
1800, Sept. 24,	Ezekiel L. Bascom,	Jan. 1, 1821.		
	Joseph Chickering.			
PRINCETON.				
1767, Sept. 9,	Timothy Fuller,	1776, April 19,	1805, July 3,	66
1786, June 28,	Thomas Crafts,	1791, March 14.		
1796, March 16,	Joseph Russell,	1801.		
1802, June 23,	James Murdock, D. D.	1815, Oct.		
1817, June 18,	*Samuel Clark.*			
ROYALSTON.				
1768, Oct. 19,	*Joseph Lee,		1819, Feb. 16,	77
1819, Feb. 17,	*Ebenezer Perkins.*			
RUTLAND.				
1727, Nov. 1,	Thomas Frink,	1740, Sept. 8.		
1742, Sept. 15,	*Joseph Buckminster,		1792, Nov. 3,	73
1793, June 19,	*Hezekiah Goodrich,		1812, Feb. 7,	42
1813, Feb. 24,	*Luke B. Foster,		1817, May, 23,	28
1818,	*Josiah Clarke.*			
SHREWSBURY.				
1723, Dec. 4,	*Job Cushing,		1760, Aug. 6,	67
1762, June 25,	*Joseph Sumner, D. D.		1824, Dec. 9,	85
1820, June 14,	*Samuel B. Ingersoll,		1820, Nov. 14,	33
1821, Sept. 26,	*Edwards Whipple,		1822, Sept. 17,	44
1823, Nov. 19,	*George Allen.*			
SOUTHBOROUGH.				
1730, Oct. 24,	*Nathan Stone,		1781, May 31,	74
1791, June 1,	Samuel Sumner,	1797, Dec. 1.		
1799, Oct. 3,	*Jeroboam Parker.*			
SPENCER.				
1744, Nov. 7,	*Joshua Eaton,		1772, April 2.	
1773, Oct. 20,	*Joseph Pope,		1826, March 29,	79
1819, June 9,	Stephen Crosby,	1825, May 31.		
1826, July,	*Levi Packard.*			
STERLING.				
1744, Dec. 19,	John Mellen,	1778, Dec. 14,	1807, July 4,	86
1779, June 2,	Reuben Holcomb,	1814, June 15,	1826, Oct. 18,	74
1815, March 22,	Lemuel Capen,	1819, Jan. 21.		
1819, June 30,	*Peter Osgood.*			
STURBRIDGE.				
1736, Sept. 29,	*Caleb Rice,		1759, Sept. 2.	
1761, June 17,	*Joshua Paine,		1799, Dec. 28.	
1800, Dec. 10,	Otis Lane.			
	Alvan Bond.			
SUTTON:				
1720, Nov. 9,	John Mc'Kinstry,		1754,	77
1729, Oct. 15,	*David Hall, D. D.	1728, Sept. 2,	1789, May 8,	85
1790, June 23,	*Edmund Mills,		1825, Nov. 7.	72
1826, June,	*John Malby.*			
SOUTHBRIDGE.				
1816, Dec. 18,	Jason Parks.			

When Settled.	*Names.*	*Dismissed.*	*Death.*	*Age.*
TEMPLETON.				
1755, March 10,	Daniel Pond,	1759, Aug. 2.		
1761, Nov. 18,	*Ebenezer Sparhawk,		1805, Nov. 25,	68
1807, Feb. 25,	*Charles Wellington.*			
UPTON.				
	Thomas Weld,	1744, Dec.		
1751, June 5,	Elisha Fish,		1795, Aug. 5,	76
1796, June 1,	*Benjamin Wood.*			
UXBRIDGE.				
1731, Feb.	*Nathan Webb,		1772, March 14.	
1774, Jan. 27,	Hezekiah Chapman,	1781, April 5.		
1783, Sept. 11,	Josiah Spalding,	1787, Oct. 23.		
1792, Oct. 17,	*Samuel Judson.*			
WEST BOYLSTON.				
1797, Oct. 11,	William Nash,	1815.		
1821, Feb. 28,	*John Boardman.*			
WARD.				
1784, Nov. 3,	*Isaac Bailey,		1814, April 10,	61
1815, March 1,	*Enoch Pond.*			
WESTBORO'.				
1724, Oct. 28,	*Ebenezer Parkman,		1782, Dec. 9,	80
1789, Jan. 14,	John Robinson,	1807, Oct. 1.		
1808, Oct. 26,	*Elisha Rockwood.*			
WESTERN.				
1744, Jan. 31,	*Isaac Jones,		1784, July,	67
1791, March 9,	Stephen Baxter,	1804, Oct. 17.		
1806, March 12,	Sylvester Burt,	1812, Jan. 7.		
1816, July 12,	*Munson C. Gaylord.*			
WESTMINSTER.				
1742, Oct. 20,	Elisha Marsh,	1757,	1784, July 25,	71
1765, Oct. 16,	*Asaph Rice,		1816, April 30,	83
1815, Feb. 22,	*Cyrus Mann.*			
WINCHENDON.				
1762, Dec. 15,	*Daniel Stimpson,		1786, July 20.	
1769, May 24,	Joseph Brown,	1800, March 18.		
1801, June 24,	*Levi Pillsbury,		1819, April 5,	47
1820, Oct.	*Eber L. Clarke.*			
WORCESTER.				
1719,	Andrew Gardner,	1722, Oct.		
1725, Oct. 25,	Isaac Burr,	1744, Nov. 25.		
1747, June 10.	*Thaddeus Maccarty,		1784, July 20,	63
1790, Sept. 29.	Samuel Austin, D. D.	1818, Dec. 23.		
1816, Oct. 9,	Charles A. Goodrich,	1820, Nov. 17.		
1821, May 23,	*Artetius B. Hull.		1826, May 17,	38
SECOND PARISH.				
1786, Feb. 1,	*Aaron Bancroft, D. D.*			
THIRD PARISH.				
1823, Oct. 15,	*Loammi I. Hoadley.*			

NOTE—The Compiler of this Table acknowledges his obligations, to the MS. copy of Rev. Mr. Whitney's History revised and continued by himself to his death, in 1816, for a great part of the elaborate work here presented. His anxiety to preserve these interesting facts impelled him to purchase these MSS. of the Executor of the Rev. Mr. Whitney, for the benefit of the cu-

rious reader. This testimony has not been deviated from without better evidence. Mr. Whitney was a rigid believer in the *judicatory* powers of ecclesiastical councils, and sturdily rejected as heresy, the modern doctrine, that these tribunals are merely *advisory*. Of course he maintains that the clerical office continues, until dissolved by a concurrence of all the powers that created it. He therefore considers his father Rev. A. Whitney of Petersham, as the minister of that town, until his death, in 1779, although the Records shew that he was dismissed in 1775, and ever after was denied his salary and the pulpit. So of Mr. Goss of Bolton and some others.

Dr. Austin, of Worcester, was appointed President of the University at Burlington, in 1815, and his Parish gave him leave of absence from his pulpit and pastoral services on the 12th day of June, in that year, for a limited time, but his dismission did not take place, according to Ecclesiastical usage, until Dec. 23, 1818. G.

Not knowing what the world might say of them after their works depart this life, the Editors were about setting in order their "last words and final speeches," and gathering their robes about them to leave existence with something of dignity, when a friend, to whom the readers of the Magazine have been indebted for some of the most interesting articles which have filled its pages kindly communicated the following lines to serve as an EPITAPH.

We have plucked the tangled weeds away,
From the grass grown mound and the headstone grey,
To trace on the moss-covered front, each name
Of our aged sires, and the tale of their fame;
And have sheltered their graves from the steps profane
Of the heartless throng and the beast of the plain;
We have mused at the stillness of twilight's hour
Till reason has yielded to fancy's power;
And have stood with the pilgrims upon the shore
Where their footsteps were traced, in days of yore,
In the winter's snow, while the forest's gloom
And the Indian's yell told of fearful doom;
And we envied no tale of the *classic* page,
Or the wild romance of a wilder age,
While we dared then to boast of our humble claim
To be kindred of men of their deathless fame;
Nor only of those, but of sires who stood
And roll'd back the tide of oppression's flood,
When it swept o'er our land in a deluge of wrath,
And withered the bloom in its wasting path;
We fondly had hoped that our humble toil,
Might have snatched some name from oblivion's spoil,
And placed it with those who were worthy to be
The sires of free men in the land of the free—
But others shall grave on our history's page
The names of the brave of a former age.

That sound—tis a peal from yon church's tower,
But it tolls not for us a departed hour.
Tis the knell of death and a hoary head

Has sunk to its rest in its lowly bed,
We knew him—and oft has he bared that breast
That heaves no more in its silent rest;
And we marked there the scars that had seam'd it o'er
In the battle's charge in the days of yore,
But his name and his deeds have gone down to the tomb,
And his story is wrapp'd in oblivion's gloom,
And thus shall it be when a few years have pass'd
With the sires of our land—we shall weep o'er the last,
And no hand will pluck the rank grass away
From the mouldering mound and the head-stone grey.

ERRATA FOR THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER.

VOL. I. PAGE 109. The incorporation of *Dudley* should be in 1732.

110. The number of Societies of Friends, 6.

116 To the list of towns in Suffolk, add *Hingham*.

In note for Hist. Coll. XII, read VII. 3d. line.

163 For "*quarter*" read greater.

327 21st line, for "reserved," read rescued.

335 line 23, for "tomb," read touch.

After the last line, add "which."

379 To the list of graduates, add Nathaniel Wright, H. U. 1808.

He is now Counsellor at Law, Lowell, Mass. P. T. Kendall, was educated at Middlebury College, Vt. His degree at Cambridge was only M. D.

In the note for "Wm." read Mr. Mellen.

382 The last word should be "purple."

VOL. II. page 48. The total of births and deaths after the year 1798, should be transposed so as to read births, 395. Deaths 174. Page 51, line 23d, read 1825, instead of 1826.

Luke Eastman Esq. removed to Lowell, 1826. Alexander Dustin, Esq. was appointed Justice in 1810.

205 In the list of Judges, the first, John Chandler, resigned in 1740, when Joseph Wilder was appointed C. J.

Joseph Dwight, was appointed in 1740.

Nahum Ward, resigned in 1754, instead of 1762.

Timo. Ruggles was appointed C. J. in 1762.

Arts. Ward, in 1775.

John Sprague, in 1798.

208 Samuel Allen was appointed Treasurer, in 1789.

209 Read Moses Smith of Lancaster.

337 twentieth line from top, for "June 14, 1803, *Benjamin Wyman*," read Aug. 19, 1818, *Benjamin Wyman*.

340 twenty second line from top, for "students" read student.

INDEX.

The names of the Ministers in the table at the end of the volume, are not in the Index.

PAGE.

Abbadie, 346
Abbot, Rev. John E. 177 227
Abercromby, Gen. defeat of 168
Abimilech, David 148
Abimilech, Sue 149
Abimilech, Deborah 149
Abimilech, Esther 149
Abimilech, Patience 149
Abimilech, Nabby 149
Abimilech, Betty 149
Academy, at Leicester 78
Adams, Ebenezer 80
Adams, Sarah 272
Adams, John 244 266
Adams, Benjamin, 209 210 211
Adams, Rev. Jedediah 174
Adams, Joseph 208
Agawam, Simple Cobler of 312
Agoganggomisset, 141
Albert, Frederick 267
Alcock, John 134 139 142
Alden, Rev. Seth 191 192
Aldrich, Jacob 366
Alford, John 37
Allen, Lewis 31 69
Allen, Wilkes 34
Allen, Dr. Israel 45 46 52
Allen, Luther 52 231
Allen, Joseph 79 80 110 206 210 211
Allen, Rev. Joseph 129 177 178 282 288
Allen, Samuel 175 183
Allen, Samuel 208
Allen, Elisha 306
Allen, Daniel 308
Allen, Rev. 328
Allen, Ebenezer 334 336
Allen, Phillip 348 364
Almanacks, 198 256
Ammidown, Caleb 79
Amory, Rufus G. 44
Amsden, Thomas 154
Amsden, John 154
Amsden, Is. 155
Amsden, Isaac 154 155
Amsbury, Capt. 166
Anamacks, a Whipsuppenick Indian 135
Ancien, Jean Rawlings 362

PAGE.

Ancien, Mousset 362
Ancillon, 346
Anderton, James 73 94
Angel, Christian 38
Antonie, M. Pierre 351
Andrews, Rev. John 327
Andross, Sir Edmund 282
Andrews, Samuel 132 138
Appleton, Rev. Jesse 87
Archibald, Rev. Henry 23
Arnold, Mary 330
Arnold, Rev. Samuel 330
Asaunaugooton (Adonijah Rice) 156
Ashley, a Singingmaster 43
Ashurst, Sir Henry 350
Asnebumskit, 232
Asowonit, Edmund 138 139
Asonsk, 142
Aspompok, 66
Assabet River, 11
Assabett, 132
Assabeth, 132
Atherton, James 276 278 280 339
Atherton, Rebecca 272
Atherton, Dr. Israel 259 260 272 311 337 338 339
Atherton, James 281
Atherton, Joshua 281
Atherton, Hannah 281
Atherton, James 339
Atherton, Col. Peter 339
Atherton, Joshua 339
Atherton, Jeffrey Amherst 340
Atherton, Abel Willard 340
Auchmuty, Robert 248
Aurania, 291
Austin, Rev. Samuel 86 90 386
Avery, Rev. Joseph 195
Awoosamug, John 140 141
Axtel, Thomas 154
Axtell, Henry 134 184
Babcock, Reuben 183
Babcock, Jonas 183
Babcock, William 183
Babut, 362 365
Backus, Rev. Dr. 88
Bailey, Rev. Mr. 17
Bailey, Silas 183
Bailey, Mary 231

PAGE.

Bailey, Margaret 231
Bailey, Isaac 340
Baker, Samuel 80 205 208 209 210 325
Baker, Samuel 336
Baker, George 339
Balch, Nathaniel 307
Baldwin, James, Jr. 116
Baldwin, Jeduthan 79
Baldwin, Henry 26
Baldwin, Nathan 207
Baldwin, Christopher C. 386
Baldwin, name of 355
Baldwin, Kezia 272
Ball, Nathan 161 183
Ball, James 161 83
Ball, Dr. Stephen 161 166 173
Ball, Dr. Stephen, sen. 161 173 184
Ball, Dr. Stephen, Jr. 161 173
Ball, Nathan 161 183
Ball, John 167 170
Ball, Edward B. 183
Ball, John 274 292
Ballard, John 309
Ballard, Edward 343
Ballou, Rev. Massena 192
Bancroft, Rev. Dr. Aaron 20 80 86 177 203 230 244 327 328
Bangs, Edward 205
Bangs, Edward D. 66 67 337
Banister, Christopher 134
Banister, John 155
Bank, at Leicester 75
Barnard, John 105
Barnard, Ephraim 172 182 183
Barnard, John 52
Barnes, Lt. Col. 111 112 113
Barnet, Henry 105
Barns, Richard 154
Barns, Edward 154
Barns, John 154
Barns, Richard 134
Barns, Mathew 275
Barret, Rev. Mr. 17 175
Barrett, John 134 184
Barret, Sergeant 154
Barret, John 155
Barret, Stephen 238
Barret, Thomas 156
Bartlett, Henry 155 183
Bartlett, Gill 152 157 182 183
Bartlett, Dea. Jonas 152 157 159 180 182 183
Bartlett, Daniel 182 183
Bartlett, Jonathan 153 182 183
Bartlett, Joel 171
Bartlett, Jotham 174 182 183
Bartlett, John 184

PAGE.

Bartlett, Isaac 184
Bartlett, Jonas 184
Bartlett, Benjamin 184
Barton, Caleb 113
Basnage, a French Protestant 346
Bass, Edward 266 278
Bass, Gillam 166
Bassett, Peter 348
Baudoin, 355
Baudoin, 362
Baudoin, Jean 362 365
Baylis, Benjamin 154
Beals, Rev. Isaac 93
Beaman, Gamaliel 39
Beaman, John 39
Beaman, Ephraim 182 197
Beaman, Ezra 39
Beaman, Gideon 39 194 195 197
Beaman, Maj. 198
Beaman, Ebenezer 266
Beaman, Gamaliel 39 280 301
Beaman, Thomas 154
Beattie, Thomas 334
Belcher, Andrew 134 185
Belknap, Rev. Dr. Jeremy 324 326
Bellows, John 134 155 184
Bellows, Eleazer 155
Bellows, Ezekiel 236
Bemis, Abijah 236
Ben, Landlord 39
Bennet, Ithamer 42
Bennet, John 309
Bennet, George 281 291
Bennet, James 343
Bennet, Edward 343
Bent, Peter 154
Bent, Peter 131 184
Bent, John 130
Bernon, Gabriel 348 349 362 364 365 366
Berrand, J. Du Tuffeau 348
Bertrand, Isaac Du Tuffeau 348 365 367
Betogkom, Simon 140
Bible, Sebastian 42
Bigelow, Silas 34
Bigelow, Ebenezer 42
Bigelow, Timothy 79
Bigelow, Timothy, Clerk to 108
Bigelow, Rev. Jonathan 198
Bigelow, Abijah 206 211
Bigelow, Daniel 290 210
Bigelow, Lewis 210 211
Bigelow, Rev. Silas 238
Biglo, John 298
Biglo, Thomas 155
Biglo, Samuel 155
Biglo, John 155

PAGE.

Biglo, John (taken captive) 156
Biglo, Freedom 156
Biglo, Comfort 156
Billings, Thomas 178 183
Billings, Sylvanus 169
Births in Sterling 48
Bixby, 193
Blacksmiths, meeting of 108
Blake, Francis 19 206 209
Blood, Joseph 306
Boardman, Rev. John 196 202 203
Boggachoag, 152
Boho, Benjamin B. 140
Bond, William 294
Bondet, Daniel 363 364 365
Bones, human 37
Bosc, Du 346
Bottomly, Thomas 73
Boudinot, Elias 352
Boudinot, 354
Bound, Rev. Ephriam 37
Bourdine, 357
Bourdille, 358
Bouker, Ensign 154
Bouker, John 155
Bowdoin, 354 355
Bowdoin, Gov. James 310 355
Bowker, Josiah 164 182
Bowyer, 355
Boylston, Ward Nicholas
Boynton, Ebenezer 232
Brabrook, William 42
Bradford, Alden 326 364
Bradish, James 155
Bradstreet, Gov. Simon 285
Brady, Version of 323 324
Bragg, Ebenezer 27
Branch, Rev. Nicholas 196 203
Brazer, Rev. John 357
Breck, John 187
Breck, Rev. Robert 16 27 154 182 187 188 190 191 281 320
Breck, Rev. Robert 190
Breck, Hannah 190
Breck, Elizabeth 190
Breck, Samuel 191
Breck, Sarah 182
Breck, Robert 278 279
Breck, Edward 277 279 283 343
Brewer, Samuel 241
Bridge, destruction of at Shrewsbury 14
Bridge, Rev. Ebenezer 176 191
Bridge, Dr. 327
Bridge, Rev. Mr. 327
Briggs, Zephaniah 183
Brigham, David 34
Brigham, Thomas 146 151 165
Brigham, Rev. Benjamin 148
Brigham, Elijah 148 151 172 184 205 209 210
Brigham, Capt. Timothy 148 164 165 183 184
Brigham, John 149 150 151
Brigham, Warren 149
Brigham, John 151 182 183
Brigham, Samuel 151 155
Brigham, Dr. Samuel 151 182
Brigham, David 151 155 160 181
Brigham, Mary 153
Brigham, Nathan 155
Brigham, Jonah 157
Brigham, Joseph 157
Brigham, Jesse 165 174 182 184
Brigham, Jonathan 165
Brigham, Col. Levi 167 170 172 184 183 320
Brigham, Artemas 167 184
Brigham, Henry 182
Brigham, Winslow 183 184
Brimmer, Martin 355
Brimmer, Andrew 355
Brimsmead, Rev. William 135 136 185
Brooks, Noah 3
Brooks, Gov. John 125 126
Brooks, Capt. 178
Broughton, Edward 266
Brown, George 28
Brown, Nathaniel 37
Brown, Bartholemew 52
Brown, John 102 104 105 111 112
Brown, Josiah 266 320
Brown, Mr. 267
Brown, Rev. Cotton 320 321 322
Brown, Timothy 322
Bruce, Roger 155
Bruce, Jonathan 183
Bryant, Mr. 266
Buccaneers, 148
Bucklin, Rev. Silvester F. 191 192
Buckminster, Rev. Joseph 20
Bulfinch, Charles 328
Bulkley, Rev. Peter 186 284
Bulkley, Gershom 186
Bulkley, Rev. John 186
Bulkley, Maj. Peter 138 186
Bullard, Samuel 26
Bullard, Joseph 267
Bumskit, 232
Burpee, Moses 306
Burpee, Jeremiah 231
Bush, Jotham 31
Bush, George 42
Bush, Samuel 154
Bush, Abrell 155

	PAGE.
Buss, Keziah	231
Buss, Ebenezer	231
Butcher, John	363 365
Butler, Mary	353 354 355 356 357
Butler, James	353
Byles, Rev. Dr. Mather	216
Caeini, Bereau	365
Cagnawaga, tribe of	156
Caldwell, William	207
Campbell, Mr.	105
Campbell, Rev. Archibal	353
Campbell, Mr.	353
Canker Rash,	45
Cante, Peter	365
Canton, Peter	362 365
Capen, Rev. Lemuel	52 227 228 229 328
Carley, or Kerley	281
Carmarthen, Marquis of	253
Carrol, Charles	247
Carruth, Joseph	183
Carruth, John	165 175 183
Carruth, William	183
Carter, George	260 263 268
Carter, Horatio	263 268
Carter, Dr. James	265 308 338 339
Carter, Oliver	265 326
Carter, Samuel	266
Carter, Samuel	288
Carter, John	343
Carter, Thomas	343
Carter, Thomas, Jr.	343
Carter, Joshua	343
Carter, Sewall	340
Carter, James	339
Carter, Ephraim	335 336
Carter, Solomon	335
Carter, Calvin	339
Carter, Rev. Thomas	295
Carter, Thomas	295
Carter, Rev. Samuel	316
Cary, Rev. Thomas	327
Cazaneau, Depaix	362
Cazaneau, Paix	365
Cazeneau, Mary	353
Chamberlain, Joseph	369
Chamberlain, Joseph, Jr.	369
Chamberlain, Benjamin	369
Chamberlain, Ebenezer	369
Chamberlain, Nathaniel	369
Chandler, Joshua	370
Chandler, John	275 369
Chandler, John	56 66 205 207 369
Chandler, John Jr.	206 207
Chandler, Cardnet	206 208
Chardler, John	207 208
Chardon,	365
Chardon, P.	362
Charlston farm,	37
Chauncy,	134 150
Chauncy, Mr.	150
Chauncy, Rev. Dr. Charles	150 186
Chauncy, Isaac	313
Child, Ephraim	131 142 145
Child, Joshua	183
Childs, David L.	198
Childs, John	198
Chockset,	266 310
Church, Dr. (the Tory)	112
Church, David	154
Church, Caleb	348 349
Clair, Gen. St. Arthur	309
Clapp, Daniel	207
Clapp, John	75
Clarke, Dea. Samuel	231
Clarke, Rev. John	327
Clarke, Rev. Mr.	176
Clarke, Rev. Samuel	196 230
Clarke, Rev. Josiah	81
Claude, M.	345 346
Cleaveland, Richard I.	343
Cleaveland, Richard	327
Cleaveland, Richard jun.	299
Cleaveland, William	335 336
Cleaveland, Henry Russell	340
Cleaveland, Richard	340
Coal, indications of	6
Cobb, John	77
Cold Harbour, origin of the name	150
Coligny, Gasper	352
Coller, Oliver	369
Colman, Rev. Dr. Benjamin	160 181 216
Common Lands,	99
Conant, Jacob	50
Conant, Rev. Abel	300
Conant, Rev. Gaius	240
Conant, Cyrus W.	243
Concord, settlement of	129
Conklin, Rev. Benjamin	80 86 88
Conomog, Sarah	142
Convention, County	170
Coolidge, Joseph	356
Cooper, Ruth	231
Cooper, Rev. W.	216
Corey, Philip	309
Cotter, James	369
Cotton, John	186
Cotton, Rev. Ward	178 230
Courts, vote concerning	31
Cow Commons,	134
Cowdall, John	276
Crafts, Ebenezer	78 80
Crafts, Samuel C.	78
Crawford, William (Tory)	31
Crawford, William	210
Crawford, Col. John	183
Crosby, Oliver	208 209

PAGE.

Crosby, Simon 140
Crosby, Otis 34
Crosby, Aaron 34
Crosby, Samuel 34
Crosby, Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney 49 193 203
Crossman, William 111 112
Cummings, Anne 105
Cummings, Elizabeth 105
Cummings, Rev. Mr. 176
Cummings, Right 339
Cunningham, Ephraim M. 52
Curley, James 155
Curley, B. 155
Currency, in New England 97 113
Curtis, John 140
Curtis, Capt. 320
Cushing, Rev. Job 17 174 175 320
Cushing, Jacob 34
Cushing, John 34
Cushing, Edmund 208 210
Cutler, Ebenezer 3
Cutler, Ebenezer (see errata) 169
Cutler, John 332
Cutler, Mary 332
Daille, Rev. Peter 349 362
Dalrymple, Samuel 153 183
Damon, Rev. David 178
Dana, Jesse 51
Dana, Rev. Nathan 93
Dana, Francis, (Judge) 112
Danforth, Elizabeth 368
Danforth, John 368
Danforth, Thomas 130 131 141 142 145 283 284 289 313
David, Moses 142
Davies, John 273
Davis, Col. Jacob 78 80
Davis, Ebenezer 78
Davis, Phinehas 159 163 170 173 178
Davis, Joseph 163
Davis, Isaac 163 170 178
Davis, Joseph Jr. 163 183
Davis, Dea. Isaac 170 173 180
Davis, John 173 211
Davis, Isaac 173
Davis, Rev. Joseph 176 182 326
Davis, Simon 182
Davis, Simon Jr. 182
Davis, Barnabas 198
Davis, Jonathan 208
Davis, John (Paxton) 232
Davis, David 238
Davis, John Jr. 338
Davison, Nicholas 37
Day, James 243
Day, Stephen 273 280 281
Day, Luke 118

PAGE.

Dean, Samuel 280
Deaths in Sterling 43
" " Shrewsbury 37
" " Northborough 164 163
" " West Boylston 291
" " Lancaster 271
Dehon, Bishop of 81
Denny, Daniel 68 100
Denny, Nathaniel P. 72 79 101 210
Denny, Col. Thomas 79 100 116 124
Denny, Samuel 79 100 101 105 109 120 124
Denny, Major 100
Denny, Thomas 101 105 106 108 109 111 112 123 237
Denny, Thomas 100
Denny, William 124
Depaux, Elie 362 365
Depeau, Jacque 365
Depont, Gabriel 349
Depreciation of currency 97
Devens, Richard 126
Dexter, Samuel 310 365
Dickenson, Jeremiah 42
Dickestean, 363
Diskau, Baron defeat of 55 61
Dinsmore, David 164 183
Divol, Manassah 272
Divol, Ephraim 272
Divol, Elizabeth 272
Divoll, Ensign 292
Divoll, Josiah 292
Dodge, Ezekiel 34
Dorchester, Peggy 231
Dorr, Joseph 205 207 206
Dowsing, Joshua 175
Draper, James 280
Draper, Richard 66
Drew, Mrs. 293
Drury, Dr. Thomas 89
Dublet, Thomas 140
Dudley, Thomas 348
Dudley, Joseph 67 186 347 363 364 365 367 368 369
Dudley, William 3
Dummer, Jeremiah 365 363
Dummer, William 2 3
Dunbar, Rev. Mr. 221
Dunbar, Abner 105
Duncan, Mr. 105
Dunsmoor, Mr. 308
Dunsmoor, Dr. William 265 306 335 336 337 338 339
Dunsmoor, John 338 339
Dunton, John 281
Dunster, Rev. Henry 323 324
Dupeux, Elie 362 365
Dustin, Alexander 52

PAGE.

Dwelley, Richard 280 343
Dwight, Simson 206
Dwight, Rev. Joseph 205
Dysentary, 45 46
Eager, Zachariah 3
Eager, James 152 182
Eager, James Jr. 152 174 175
Eager, Zilpah 152
Eager, Zachariah 154
Eager, Oliver 183
Eager, Abraham 154 184
Eager, Eben 165
Eager, Capt. Bezaleel 166 167 182 184
Eager, James 169 (see errata)
Eager, John 169
Eager, James 169 180
Eager, Col. William 178 182 184
Eager, Benjamin 184
Eames, Col. 178
Earle, Ralph 68 70 93
Earle James 70
Earle, Ralph 70
Earle, Ralph 70
Earle, Ralph 70
Earle, Pliny 74
Earle, Thomas 74
Earle, Jonah 97
Earle, Marmaduke
Earthquake, disease attributed to 41
Eastman, Luke 52
Eastman, Samuel 209
Eaton, William 210
Eaton, Rev. Dr. Peter 230
Elizabeth, 132
Elliot, Rev. John 141 143 145 215 290 323 327 361
Elliott, Daniel 364 369 370
Elliott, Daniel Jr. 369 370
Elzebeth, 132
Emerson, Moses K. 340
Emerson, George B. 269
Emgerland, Phelippe 365
Emmerson, Rev. John 197 326 327
Fphraim, Peter 140
Episcopalian Society, 94
Evans, John 363
Evans, Robert 366
Fairbanks, Samuel 42
Fairbanks, Jonathan 42
Fairbanks, William 42
Fairbanks, Richard 343
Fairbanks, Ephraim 325
Fairbanks, Thomas 231
Fairbanks, Jabez 296
Fairbanks, Jonathan 296 297
Fairbanks, Jabez 306 334
Fairbanks, Jashua 282 292
Fairbanks, Jonas 280 282 292

PAGE.

Falls of Niagara, Earle's painting of 70
Faneuil, Benjamin 362 365
Farmer, John 314 317
Farnsworth, Mr. 163
Farrar, John 42 280 282 299
Farrar, Jacob 280
Farrar, Jacob 282 287 291
Farrar, George 282
Farrar, Henry 282 292
Fay, Nahum 151 170 172 180 183
Fay, Asa 151 153
Fay, Lewis 151
Fay, Mary 151
Fay, Gershom 151 153 155 182
Fay, Thadeus 153 157 164 167 180 182
Fay, John 153
Fay, Gershom 153 164 175 182 183
Fay, Mary 153 157
Fay, Susannah 153
Fay, Sarah 153
Fay, Silas 153
Fay, Timothy 153 157 166 182
Fay, Paul 153
Fay, David 154
Fay, Susanna 157
Fay, Widow Hannah 164
Fay, Adain 165 182
Fay, Warren 173
Fay, Silas 175 183
Fay, widow Abigail 176
Fay, John F. 163
Federalists, courtesy of in Leicester 121
Fessenden, John 208
Field, Rev. Joseph
Fight, only naval one in 38
Fires, in Sterling 50
" " Shrewsbury 29
Fisher, Liesten 130 131
Fisher, Jacob 327 329 335 336
Fisher, Joshua 327
Fisk, John 152
Fiske, Oliver 207 210
Fiske, Benjamin 31
Fiske, Isaac 127
Flagg, Benjamin 206 208
Flagg, Samuel (it should be Josiah) 300 337
Flagg, Rev. Ebenezer 266
Flagg, Mr. 261
Flagg, William 291
Flagg, Enoch 206
Flagg, Capt. Samuel 206
Flagg, Benjamin 183
Fletcher, John 116
Fletcher, Joshua 272 306
Fletcher, Mary 272

PAGE.

Fletcher, Robert 267
Fletcher, William 343
Fletcher, Rev. Levi 269 340
Fletcher, Rebecca 272
Fletcher, Phinehas 306
Flint, Dr. Austin 70 72 78 79
Flint, Dr. Edward 72
Flood, Benjamin 165
Forbes, Rev. Eli 55
Forbes, John M. 333
Forbush, Jonathan 155
Forbush, Samuel 155
Forbush, Thomas 155
Forbush, John 155
Fort Hill, 356
Foster, Richard 331
Foster, Catharine 331
Foster, Prudence 320
Foster, Dwight 79 205 207 210 211
Foster, Jedediah 205 207
Foster, Rev. John 239
Foster, Rev. Dr. Benjamin 92 93
Foster, Rev. Mr. 20
Foster, Jonathan 3
Foster, Joseph 180
Fox, Jabez 266
Fox, William 363 365
Franklin, Benjamin 144
Franklin, Dr. Benjamin 144 249 312
Franklin, William Temple 144
Franklin, Thomas 144
Franklin, John 144
Franklin, Josiah 144
Franklin, Samuel 144
Frost, Stephen 266 320
Frothingham, Rev. Nathaniel L. 178
Fuller, Edward 272
Fuller, Rev. Timothy 81 217
Fund, Ministerial in Shrewsbury 22
Gaines, Daniel 280 282 292
Gaines, Henry 243
Gale, Cyrus 163
Gamwell, Samuel 182 183
Gardner, Rev. Andrew 175 176 298 300 317 318 319
Gardner, Rev. Francis 327
Gardner, Capt. Andrew 318
Gardner, Mary 320
Gardner, Stephen P. 209 210
Gardner, Henry 109 167
Garfield, Ruth 33
Garrett, Harmon 273 277
Gary, Ruth 231
Gassett, Joel 152 183
Gassett, Henry 172
Gassett, Henry Jr. 172
Gates, Silas 132 148 192
Gates, Simon 154
Gates, Hezekiah 266 231 306 335

PAGE.

Gates, Stephen 280 315
Gates, Capt. Thomas 306
Gates, Mary 315
Geary, Jonathan 42
Geno, Philip 42
George, 260
Germon, Charle 362
Germanie, M. 353 355 356
Gerrish, Moses 308
Gill, Moses 79 80 120 205 208 209 210
Gill, Michael 205 206
Gill, John 273
Glazer, Mary 297
Glazier, Jacob 42
Glazier, Rev. Joseph 273
Glasson, James 155
Goddard, Benjamin 28
Goddard, Edward 34
Goddard, Nathan 34
Goddard, Solomon 183
Goddard, Calvin 34
Goddard, Josiah 183 336
Goddard, Rev. David 84 85
Goddard, Luther 203
Goodale, Edward 193
Goodale, David 194
Goodenow, Thomas 131 185 183
Goodenow, Thomas Jun. 134
Goodenow, Samuel 151 182
Goodenow, David 182
Goodenow, Thomas (see errata) 182
Goodenow, Jonathan 182
Goodenow, Samuel Jun. 152 154 157 182 184
Goodenow, Mary 157 158
Goodenow, Thomas 171
Goodenough, Lieut. 283
Goodrich, Rev. Hezekiah 326
Goodrich, Rev. Mr. 20 301
Goodwin, Isaac 52 301 335
Goodwin, Edward 335 337
Goodwin, James
Gookin, Gen. Daniel 135 141 142 143 144 146 147 290 361
Gookin, Daniel 135
Gookin, Daniel (of Worcester) 206
Gookin, Samuel 135 143
Gookin, Nathaniel 136
Goss, Rev. Thomas 176 217 220 321 325
Gott, Dr. Benjamin 164 182 190
Gray, Harrison 31 169
Gray, Rev. Dr. Ellis 216
Gray, Rev. Thomas 326
Greanlief, Daniel 338 339
Green, Samuel 67 68
Green, Samuel 29
Green, Samuel Jr. 29 109

PAGE.

Green, Dr. Thomas 92 93
Green, Isaac 116
Green, John 151
Green, Nathan 167 182
Green, Peter (see errata) 267 299 339
Green, Peter 339
Green, Samuel 273
Green, Rev. Aaron 326
Gridley, Col. 126
Grignon, Rene 362
Grignon, Rean 365
Griswold, Bishop of 94
Grout, Seth 170 178
Grout, Jonathan 209 211
Grosvner, Rev. Daniel 194 239 240
Hadlock, Nathaniel 277 343
Hale, Thomas 209
Hall, Rev. David 175 216
Hall, a Missionary 173
Halloway, Adam 152 153 155
Halloway, Wm. 153 174 180 181 182
Hammond, William 330
Hammond, Nathaniel 322
Hammond, John 330
Hammond, Jonathan 322
Hammond, Benjamin 330
Hammond, Lawrence 363 365
Hancock, Gov. John 310
Hancock, Rev. John 322
Hapgood, Thomas 155 173
Harding, Josiah 142
Harrington, Nathan 232
Harrington, Samuel 232
Harrington, Micah 232
Harrington, Ephriam 232
Harrington, George 294
Harrington, Anna 327
Harrington, Henrietta 327
Harrington, Arethusa 327
Harrington, Eusebia 327
Harrington, Timothy 327 339
Harrington, Rufus 327
Harrington, Dea. Thomas 327
Harrington, Rev. Timothy 217 260
273 291 294 298 308 317 321
322 323 324 326 327 329
Harrington, Jubal 34
Harris, Rev. Mr. 93
Harris, Capt. Asahel 264
Harris, Rev. Dr. Thaddeus M. 227 326
Harsonobonskit, 232
Hart, James 171
Hartwell, Samuel 94
Hartwell, Edward 205
Harvey, Zachariah 3
Haskins, Rev. Jared 192
Haskell, Capt. Andrew 306 309
Haskell, Col. Henry 309
Haskell, Jeremy (see errata) 309
Hasnebumskeat, 232
Hasnebumskeag 232
Hassanamessett 146 147 152 361
Hastings, Mr. 43
Hastings, Seth 208 209 211
Hastings, Henry 182 183
Hastings, Calvin 183
Hathorn, Mr. 199
Hathorn, Maj. 134
Hawkes, John 306 343
Hawse, Luther 152 183
Haynes, Capt. John 173
Hayward, Jonathan 183
Hayward, Gideon 183
Hedge, Lemuel 34
Hemmenway, Daniel 174
Hemmenway, Rev. Moses 266
Henchman, Capt. 38 180
Henshaw, Col. Joseph 31 108 109 116
Henshaw, Horatio G. 66
Henshaw, Col. William 66 105 111
116 124
Henshaw, David 68 105 116 127
Henshaw, Joshua 68
Henshaw, Daniel 102 127
Hersey, Peleg 111
Hewett, John 309
Heywood, Nathaniel 4
Heywood, Capt. Daniel 173
Heywood, Benjamin 205
Heywood, Daniel 208
Hildrith, Rev. Hosea 198 256
Hill, Rev. Mr. 93
Hincksman, Capt. Thomas 138
Hinds, Joseph 198
Hinds, Benjamin 193
Hinds, Ephriam 198
Hinds, Elisha 198
Hoar, Mr. 313
Hobart, B. 91
Holbrook, Mr. 182
Holbrook, Lowell 151 183
Holcomb, Rev. Reuben 48 52 195 223
224 225 226 227 230 327
Holden, John 113
Holman, Silas 209 210
Holman, Dr. Silas 268
Holmes, Rev. Dr. Abiel 327 345
Holmes, Joseph 134 184
Holt, Thomas 322
Holt, Mr. 193
Holyoke, Widow 149
Homer, Rev. Jonathan 318 321
Hopkins, John, his version of 323
Hough, Rev. Alling 203
Houghton, Hon. Jonathan 208 303
336 342 343

PAGE.

Houghton, Nathaniel 210
Houghton, Joel 231
Houghton, Henry 266
Houghton, Capt. Elijah 272
Houghton, Alice 272
Houghton, Ralph 277 278 279 281 283 285 294 314 334 342
Houghton, John 280 337
Houghton, John Esq. 16 281 282 300 301 317 318 334 342 343
Houghton, Asa 299
Houghton, Benjamin 39 301 306 342
Houghton, Ezra 52 308
Houghton, Solomon 308
Houghton, Israel 340
Houghton, Joseph 342
Houghton, Beatrix 342
Houghton, Robert 342
Houghton, William 342
How, John (of Watertown) 130 131
How, John (of Hodinhul) 131
How, John (of Marlboro') 130 131 135 154 185
How, Adam 131
How, Lord Charles 131
How, Stephen 183
How, Col. Thomas 131
How, Josiah 131 155
How, Rev. Pearley 131
How, John Jr. 134
How, Abraham 134 156 184 297
How, Samuel 134 184
How, Stephen 152
How, Eleaser 153 155
How, Jonathan 154
How, James 154
How, Ensign 154
How, Daniel 155
How, Isaac 168
How, Estes 206
How, Elbridge G. 243
How, Lord 249
How, Elizabeth 282 296
How, Capt. 297
Howe, Daniel 2
Howe, Elizabeth 16
Howard, Simeon 153 182 183
Howard, Cornet Simeon 153
Howard, Jonathan 153
Howard, Gideon 153
Howard, Rev. Dr. Simeon 153
Howard, Mary 153
Howard, Hannah 153
Howard, Betty 153
Howard, Jemima 153
Hubbard, Jonathan 105
Hubbard, Daniel 111 113
Hubbard, Rev. William 313

PAGE.

Hudson, William 369 370
Hudson, Daniel 296
Hudson, Nathaniel 296
Hudson, Seth 183
Huegonots, 346
Humphreys, James 209
Humphreys, Capt. Ebenezer 357 358 369 370
Hunkins, Thomas 370
Hutchinson, Capt. Edward 187
Hutchinson, Anne 187
Hutchinson, Mr. 267
Hymns, 219 323
Incorporation of towns, see Vol. I. 109
Indian Skeleton, 200
Indian Antiquities, 200
Ingersol, Rev. Samuel B. 18 20 21
Insurance Company, 51
Iron, where found, 38
Islands in Long Pond, 9 10
Ivers, Mary 332
Jackson, Dr. James 80
Jackson, Rev. Joseph 326 327
Jackson, Mathew 113
Jackson, Edward 131 142 145
James, Great 140
James, Thomas 278 280 283 343
Jay, John 352
Jefferson, Thomas 120 195 245 247 248
Jehojakin, 140
Jennison, William 205 302
Jermons, 362
Jermon, P. 365
Jermon, Capt. 365
Jermon, Ober 365
Jethro, 273 290 293
Jewett, Solomon 231
Jewett, Mary 231
Jews, society of 90
Job, an Indian Spy, 147
John, Great 140
John, one eyed 291
Johnson, Mathew 112
Johnson, John 134
Johnson, Solomon 134 185
Johnson, Jonathan 144
Jonson, Nathaniel 154 155 299
Johnson, Nathaniel 154
Johnson, Joseph 154
Johnson, Daniel 154
Johnson, Jonathan, Sen. 155
Johnson, William 155
Johnson, Jonathan 158
Johnson, John 278 279 281 283 343 349 354 362
Johnson, Edward 284 289

	PAGE.
Jones, Phineas	79
Jones, Nathaniel	210
Jones, Mary	272
Jones, Samuel	300
Jones, Rev. John	317
Joslin, Nathaniel	154 155 299
Joslin, Mary	272
Joslin, Samuel	272
Joslyn, Thomas	280 282
Joslyn, Nathaniel	280
Joslyn, Rebecca	281 282
Joslyn, Nathaniel	282
Joslyn, Peter	296
Judson, (Missionary)	173
Kady, James	154
Kanney, Nathaniel	67
Kendall, Josiah	38 222 307
Kendall, Isaac	42
Kendall, Simon	42
Kendall, Stephen	42
Kendall, Pearson T.	52
Kendall, Pearson	52 218
Kendall, Jonas	209 210 211
Kendall, Joseph G.	210
Kendall, Elizabeth	218
Kendall, James	218
Kendall, Rev. James	218
Kendall, Lydia	231
Kent, Rev. Benjamin	191
Kerley, William Jr.	280 281 283 292
Kerley, William	134 277 278 279 281 282 283 285 314
Kerley, Anne	281
Kerley, Henry	134 278 280 281 283 293
Kerley, Henry Jr.	281 282 317
Kerley, William	281
Kerley, Hannah	281
Kerley, Mary	282
Kerley, Joseph	282 292 293
Kerley, Martha	282
Kettle, John	232
Keyes, James	160 170 178
Keyes, John	2 3 26 27 28
Keyes, Silas	3 4 159
Keyes, Solomon	27
Keyes, John	27 155
Keyes, Stephen	27
Keyes, James	334
Killburn, Rev. Joseph	231 340
Killburn, Isaac	42
Kimball, Benjamin	208
King, John	97
King, Thomas	130 185
King, Peter	134 184
Kingsbury, Nathaniel	269
Kingsbury, Col. Jeremiah	354
Kirkland, Rev. Dr. John T.	177
Kittituck, (Nipmug)	185
Knowlton, Thomas	28
Labour, price of	98
Lamb, Joshua	65 67
Lamb, Abiel	369
Lambert, Julia	177
Lambstown, (Hardwick)	67
Lancaster,	257
Lane, Jonas	335 339
Lane, Henry	340
Larken, John	300
Larned, Isaac	366
Lathrop, Capt.	148
Laurens, Henry	352
Lawton, Dr.	86
Lawyers, vote to annihilate	170
Leach, Mary	272
Leason, Thomas	369 370
Learned, Isaac	369 370
Learned, Ebenezer	369 370
Leavett, Josiah	52
Lechford, Thomas	279
Leicester,	65
Lenard, Moses	155
Leverett, Gov. John	180 293
Leviston, Capt.	114
Lewis, Levi	337
Lewis, John	278 280 283
Lewis, William	278 280 281 283
Lincoln, William	386
Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin	45
Lincoln, Levi Sen.	8 206 207 209 210 211 224 331
Lincoln, Levi Jr.	209
Lincoln, Loring	111
Lincoln, Abraham	208 210
Linton, Richard	274 276 278 279 281 283 291
Linton, Anna	282
Livermore, Daniel	68
Livermore, Salem	68
Livermore, Joseph	111
Livermore, Jason	111 236 241
Livermore, Isaac	112 113
Livermore, Dea. Jonathan	164 175 179 180
Livermore, Jonathan	172
Livermore, Dea. Jonas	183
Livermore, Josiah	236
Livermore, John F.	243
Livermore, Charles	243
Livermore, George W.	243
Locke, John	327
Locke, Maj. Jonathan	299
Locke, Rev. Samuel	266 339
Locke, John	211
London,	231
Longevity,	33 271 272 231

	PAGE.
Longly, Nathaniel	325
Lopez, Aaron	78 90
Lopez, Joseph	91
Lopez, Moses	91
Lopez, Jacob	91
Loring, Rev. Israel	175 189 190
Lathrop, Rev. Mr.	221
Lovell, Rev. Alexander	198
Luxford, Mr.	343
Lynde, Mrs.	37
Lyon, Thomas W.	163
Madison, James	195
Magus, John	140 141
Mahan, David	183
Maillet, Jean	362
Mainard, Sergeant	154
Mainard, John	155
Manchaug,	361
Manexit,	147
Manigault, Gabriel	352
Man, Samuel	238
Mann, Ensign	267
Manning, Dr. Samuel	299 338
Manning, Samuel	340
Mansfield, John	280 343
Maquas,	290
Marlborough,	129 147
Marret, Mary	175
Marshall, Rev. Mr.	203
Marston, Col.	37
Martin, Thomas	154
Martin, Adam	154
Martyn, Rev. John	152 163 165 174 175 176 177 178 179 181
Martyn, Michael	152 169 175
Martyn, Capt. Edward	175
Martyn, Mary	180
Martyn, Abigail	176
Martyn, Nathaniel	176
Martyn, Richard	175
Martyn, Zilpah	175
Martyn, Mary	175
Martyn, John	175 183
Mason, Jonas	231
Mason, Rev. Thomas	218
Mason, family of	218
Mather, Nathaniel	313
Mather, Rev. Dr. Increase	180 285 363 365
Mather, Rev. Richard	323
Mather, Rev. Samuel	216
Mathew, an Indian	291
Mauchage,	361
Maynard, Daniel	26
Maynard, John	130 184 343
Maynard, Daniel	155
Maynard, John	336
Maynard, Joseph	154
Maynard, David	155
Maynard, William	164 183
Maynard, Hollon	178 183
Maynard, Stephen	166
Mayo, John	350
Mayo, Mr.	356
Mayo Hill,	350 354 356
Mc Allester, John	175 183
Mc Gregory, Rev. Elias	23
Mc Load, Mordecai	280 291 292
Mc Master, James	105
Mc Master, Patrick	105
Mein, John	105
Mellen, Rev. John	41 42 52 213 214 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 230 320 321
Mellen, Rebecca	224
Mellen, John Jr.	224 321 339 340
Mellen, Prentice	224
Mendez, Abraham	90
Menimesseg,	147 291
Menimimessett,	186
Mercier, Rev. Andrew Le	349 350
Merrick, Pliny	208 209
Merriam, Tarrant	3
Metacomet,	287 291 292
Miles, Solomon P.	269
Milleton, Jean	365
Mine, Silver	38
Minot, Mr.	175
Minsie, John	96
Money, depreciation of	97 113
Monis, Rabbi Judah	180 181
Monkhue, (a Leicester Indian)	66
Monoco, John	291
Monroe, Israel	172
Montel,	365
Montier, Jacques	362 365
Moore, Rev. Zepheniah S.	81 87 88 89 90 91
Moore, Rev. Thomas	198 256
Moore, Israel	231
Moore, Richard	366
Moore, Abigail	231
Moore, Phinehas	232
Moor, Maj. William	241
Moore, Jonathan	266
Moore, John	278 279 280 281 283 343
Moore, Dea.	308
Moore, Joseph	308
Moors, Dea. Oliver	230
Moors, Dea. Joseph	230
Morril, Samuel	154
Morse, Rev. Ebenezer	174 217
Morse, Samuel	165
Morse, Rev. Sylvanus	198
Morse, Rev. Joseph	189

	PAGE.
Morse, Jonathan	28
Morton, Charles	363 365
Mosely, Capt.	148
Mousset,	365
Meunscher, Rev. Joseph	94
Munanaw, David	148
Munro, Commander at William Henry,	101
Munroe, Abraham	166 172
Murray, John	109 232
Musketaquid, (Concord)	186 284
Narrhagansetts,	291
Nash, Rev. William	195 196 202
Nashaway, how written	258
Nashawogg,	273
Nashacowam,	273
Nashaways,	292
Nasquament, Peter	142
Nasquament, Sarah	142
Nasquamit, John	142
Nasquanet, John	140
Natick,	137 138 147
Nealand, Benjamin	369 370
Nelson, Rev. John	90
Nelson, John	368 369
Nelson, Elizabeth	368 369
Nelson, Jonathan	231
Nequain, Old	142
Newell, Timothy	209 210
Newhall, Michael	335
Newhall, Thomas	79 105 109 123
Newhall, Phinehas	116
Newton, Obediah	3
Newton, Edward	3
Newton, Samuel	3
Newton, Martin	28
Newton, Richard	131 136 185
Newton, John	134 136 154 184
Newton, Moses	136
Newton, Dea. Paul	136 170 179 183
Newton, Solomon	136
Newton, Willard	136
Newton, Ezekiel	136
Newton, Moses Jun.	136 154
Newton, Jonathan	136 155
Newton, Josiah	136
Newton, David	136
Newton, Edward	136
Newton, Hannah	136
Newton, Mercy	136
Newton, Jacob	136
Newton, Ebenezer	136
Newton, Thomas	142
Newton, Joseph	155
Newton, John Jun.	155
Newton, Benjamin	155
Newton, Ephraim	155
Newton, Abraham	155
Newton, Martyn	183
Newton, Anthony	200 231
Newton, Seth	336
Nichols, Joseph	272
Nichols, Israel	208
Nickel, where found	38
Nipmuck, river	361
Nipmucks (Kittitucks)	291 364
Nipmug,	186
Nixon, Gen. John	113
Nocroff, Rev. Nathaniel	274 275
Norcross, Rev. Nathaniel	274 343
Northborough,	129
Norton, Rev. Thomas	323
Nowell, Josiah	142
Noyes, Thomas	287 288
Nurse, William	3
Nurse, Joseph	26
Oaks, William	27
Oaks, Nathaniel	152 182
Oaks, Nathaniel Jun.	152 154 164
Oaks, William	152
Oaks, Hannah	152
Oaks, Mary	152
Oaks, Ann	152
Oaks, John	152 183
Oaks, Jonathan	152
Oaks, George	152
Oaks, George	183
Oaks, Rev. Edward	316
Ockoocangansett,	132 135 141 145 187
Ogguonikongquamesut,	141
Oguonikongquameset	141
Okommokamesit	141 142 146
Oliver, Peter	96 306
Oliver, name of	355 356
Omsbury, Capt.	166
Onomog, Solomon	146
Oorashoe, a Towtaid Sachem	66
Orania, fort of	147
Osgood, Jonathan	39 301
Osgood, Dea. Jonathan	214 230
Osgood, David	39 42 301
Osgood, David	52
Osgood, Rev. Peter	52 196 203 230
Osgood, Joseph	271
Osgood, Jerusha	271
Osgood, Martha	271
Osgood, Joel	271
Osgood, Moses	323
Osgood, Martha	323
Osgood, Rev. Dr.	326
Osgood,	337
Osgood, Nathan	340
Oughtsorongoughton, (Timothy Rice)	156
Oxford, Army	120

PAGE.

Oxford, history of French in 345
Packard, Rev. Asa 178 190 191 270
Packard, Rev. Hezekiah 326
Paine, Timothy 79 206
Paine, Rev. Joshua 17 18 80
Paine, Nathaniel 207 333
Pakachoag, 290
Palmer, Joseph 266 231
Parker, Nehemiah 34
Parker, Frederick 34
Parker, Edmund 278 280 283
Parker, Mr. 266
Parker, Abigail 231
Parkinson, Robert 198
Parkman, Rev. Ebenezer 150 158 174 175 176 179 190 320
Parkman, Breck 172
Parsons, Rev. David 76 82 83 84 90 97
Parsons, Eli 119
Patridge, Jesse 51
Patrick, Mathew 336
Paupogquincog Pond 66
Pawtucket, river 361
Payquaoge, 293
Paxton, Charles 240
Paxton, history of 232
Payson, Thomas 80
Penn, Sarah 330
Penn, Sir, William 330
Penn, William 330
Penecook, 262 278 288
Penniman, Joseph 70
Penniman, Peter 209 210
Peobody, Dr. 299
Peobody, Nathaniel 339
Perry, Nathan 208
Peters, Jethro 167
Peters, Lovett 151
Petowat, Jacob 140
Phelps, Robert 309
Phelps, Joshua 272
Phelps, Edward 272
Phelps, Edward 272
Phelps, George 343
Phelps, Phineas 338
Phelps, William 343
Phelps, Winslow 309
Phelps, Joseph 309
Philip, (of Pokanoket) 148
Philip, 362
Phipps, Sir William 318
Piambo, an Indian 143
Pierce, John 79
Pierce, Rev. Dr. 80 227
Pierce, Jacob 152
Pierce, John 280 343
Pierce, John 243

PAGE.

Pilim, Andrew 138 139
Pitcairn, Maj. 113 126
Pitimee, Andrew 138 139 140 141
Plant, Mr. 261 286 292 300
Pleasant Valley, 200 204
Plimpton, Peter 154
Plumbago, where found 38
Plummer, Farnham 263 264
Pohpono, Job 140
Poignand, Mr. 261 286 292 300
Pollard, John 272
Pomroy, General 126
Pond, Quinsigamond 8
Pond, Washacum 38 300
Pond, Paupogquincog 66
Pond, Hasnebumskit 234 235
Pond, Quinepoxet 262
Ponopohquin, Jacob 140
Poor, in Sterling 49
Poor, in Northborough 179
Poor, in Shrewsbury 24
Poor, in Lancaster 269
Pope, Ebenezer 47
Pope, Rev. Joseph 80
Pope, Joseph 231
Population of Sterling, 49
Population of Northborough, 163
Population of Leicester, 72
Population of Paxton, 235
Population of West Boylston, 201
Population of Lancaster, 270
Population of Shrewsbury, 47
Porter, John 218
Porter, Rev. Dr. 227
Pratt, William 34
Pratt, John 155
Prentice, Thomas 321
Prentice, Staunton 320 338 339
Prentice, Thomas 320
Prentice, John 320
Prentice, Mary 320
Prentice, Elizabeth 320
Prentice, Sarah 320
Prentice, Prudence 320 321
Prentice, Relief 320
Prentice, Rebecca 320
Prentice, Rev. Caleb 224
Prentice, Rev. John 174 189 190 205 224 257 266 300 319 320 321 329 339
Prentice, Rev. Thomas 266
Prentice, Capt. Thomas 294
Prescott, John 37 273 276 277 278 279 283 285 294 300 315
Prescott, Jonathan (it should be John) 276
Prescott, Goodman 285 286 287
Prescott, Samuel 298

PAGE.

Prescott, John 305 306
Priest, John 272
Priest, Elizabeth 272
Priest, Joseph 272
Prince, Rev. Dr. 80
Prince, Rev. Thomas 100 216
Proctor, John W. 269
Protestant, French memoir of 345
Psalms, versing of 219 323
Puffer, Rev. Dr. Reuben 177 327
Punkapog, 147
Putnam, William 52
Putnam, Gen. 47
Putnam, Gen. Rufus 79 80
Putnam, James 109 248 320
Putnam, William 335 336
Quaboag, 186
Quakers, Society of 93
Quanipaug, James 147 291 294
Quannopin, 293
Quassaponiken, 284
Quinipoxet, 341
Quinipoxet River, 341
Quinepoxet Pond, 262
Quinsigamond Pond, 8
Quonkatohn, Nathaniel 140
Railing, 365
Rand, Rev. Mr. 174
Rattlesnakes, great number of 133
Rawson, Edward 71 131
Raymond, Edward 54
Rediat, John 134
Rediat, John 152 184
Read, David 3
Read, Joseph 335 336 337
Read, Benjamin 209
Revera, Jacob 90 91
Revolution, management in, in Leicester, 104
Rice, Elijah 32
Rice, Rev. Mr. 84
Rice, Edmond 130 155 156 184 185
Rice, Edward 131 155 165 181 184 185
Rice, Henry 131
Rice, Samuel 134 184
Rice, Thomas 134 155 156 184
Rice, Joseph 134 154 184
Rice, Benjamin 134
Rice, Joseph 136 138 139
Rice, Henry 140
Rice, Asaph 153 163 178 182 184
Rice, Jacob 154 165 182 184
Rice, Benjamin 154 165 183 184 185
Rice, Joshua 154
Rice, Caleb 155
Rice, Daniel 165
Rice, Charles 155
Rice, Peter 155 301
Rice, Nahor 156

PAGE.

Rice, Silas 156 183 185
Rice, Timothy 156 185
Rice, Ashur 156
Rice, Adonijah 156
Rice, Seth 156 183
Rice, Dea. Seth 156 167 170 180 185
Rice, Thankful, wife of 156
Rice, Josiah 156 161 183
Rice, Dea. Caleb 161
Rice, Mr. 163
Rice, Capt. Amos 165 167 168 173
Rice, Joel 165 167
Rice, Jacob 165 184
Rice, Matthias 165 172 175 179 180 181 185
Rice, Simeon (it should be Simon) 165 182 185
Rice, Zerubbabel 165
Rice, Nathan 168
Rice, Richard 185
Rice, Gershom (Worcester) 301
Rice, Jonas (Worcester) 205 301
Rice, Cyprian 185
Rice, Elisha 185
Rice, Merrick 337 338
Rice, Gershom 184
Rice, Obediah 184
Rice, Amos 184
Rice, John 184
Rice, Ebenezer 172
Rice, Simon 172
Rice, Jacob 172
Rice, Luther 173
Rice, widow Anna 180
Rice, Pelatiah 180 182
Rice, Thankful 182
Rice, Sarah 182
Richardson, Benjamin 52 231
Richardson, Mr. 80
Richardson, John 81
Richardson, Paul 227
Richardson, William 303 320 334 337
Richardson, Benjamin 116
Rigby, Edward 280
Rigby, John 280
Ripley, Rev. Samuel 178
Robbins, John 52
Robbins, Daniel 320
Robbins, David 309
Robbins, Bathsheba 272
Roberts, Rev. Joseph Jr. 85 127
Robin, Old 142
Robinson, Rev. Mr. 317
Robinson, Dr. Samuel 261
Rockett, Joseph 369 370
Rockwood, Rev. Elisha 178
Rogers, Rev. John 217 218 320 321 324
Rogers, Rev. Peter 93

PAGE.

Rogers, Maj. 166
Rogers, Jeremiah 279
Rogerson, Mr. 163
Roper, John 282 294
Roper, Ephraim 292 293 296 297 317
Roper, Michal 231
Rowlandson, Bridget 280
Rowlandson, Thomas 292 293 343
Rowlandson, Mary 293
Rowlandson, Thomas 313
Rowlandson, Mary 316
Rowlandson, Mary 316
Rowlandson, Joseph 316
Rowlandson, Sarah 316
Rowlandson, Rev. Joseph 280 281 283 287 291 292 293 299 300 312 313 314 315 316 317
Ruddocke, John 131 135 185
Rugg, Benjamin 164
Rugg, John 280 282 283
Rugg, Jane 272
Rugg, Zeruiah 272
Rugg, Lydia 272
Rugg, Widow 296
Rugg, Joseph 296 297
Ruggles, Gen. Timothy 54 109 205 236
Ruggles, Rev. Timothy 54
Ruggles, Rev. Thomas 54
Ruggles, Samuel 66
Russell, Jonathan 211
Rutledge, E. 249
Rutter, John 134 184
Safford, Thomas 299
Saills, Peter A. 357
Salem, Peter 113
Salisbury, Stephen 79
Soltonstal, Col. 166
Sanford, Thomas 366
Sargent, Nathan 105 112 118
Sargent, Joseph 109
Sargent, Henry 79
Saunders, Hezekiah 111
Saunders, Rev Daniel C. 177 326
Saunders, Abraham 362 365
Savage, James 276 318
Sawyer, Samuel 39 52 301
Sawyer, Cooper 39
Sawyer, Elias 41 156 298
Sawyer, Thomas 41 156 277 276 278 279 281 283 285 294 296 298 300 334 335
Sawyer, Elisha 41
Sawyer, Josiah 272
Sawyer, Mary 281
Sawyer, Thomas Jr. 281
Sawyer, Sarah 28:
Sawyer, Elizabeth 281

PAGE.

Sawyer, Ephraim 281 292
Sawyer, Mary 281
Sawyer, Joshua 281
Sawyer, James 281
Sawyer, Caleb 281
Sawyer, John 281
Sawyer, Nathaniel 281
Sawyer, Jonathan 298
Sawyer, Aaron 306
Sawyer, Ephraim 306
Sawyer, Samuel 306
Sawyer, Jonathan 309
Sawyer, Artemas 340
Scar, or Scaur 44
Secomb, Rev. John 216 301 321
Sedgwick, Theodore 53
Sergeant, Peter 368 369
Sever, Joseph 168
Sever, Thomas 168
Sever, Samuel 183 184
Sewall, Rev. Dr. 216
Shakers, Society of 311
Shamaw, 273
Shattuck, Dr. George C. 80
Shays, Daniel 32 45 118 311 332
Shed, Rev. Marshall 196
Shepard, Jacob 175
Sheply, John 210
Sherman, Joseph 28
Sherman, John 155 160
Shetucket, 352
Shirley, Gov. 100
Sholan, 273 277 291 300
Shoshanim, Sachem of Weshakim 67 291 293
Shovel, Admiral 42
Shrewsbury, history of 1
Shute, Gov. Samuel 365 366
Shumway, Peter 357
Shumway, Mrs. 354
Sibley, Jonas 209 210 211
Sickness, in Sterling 41 45
Sickness, in Northborough 163 164
Sigourney, Andrew 353 356
Sigourney, Andrew 348 354 355 356
Sigourney, Andrew 348 354 355 356 357
Sigourney, Mary 353
Sigourney, Mrs. L. Huntley 359
Sigournay, Andre 362
Segourne, Andre 365
Simmons, Micah 272
Simonds, Samuel 273 274 278
Singing, Mangement of 43
Singletary, Amos 208
Singletary, Richard 165 299
Skeleton, human 200
Skaite, John 269 297

PAGE.

Skidmore, Thomas 273
Slater, Samuel 74
Slater, John 198
Smith, Jacob 42
Smith, Sebastian 42
Smith, Moses 51
Smith, Alpheus 70 79
Smith, John A. 75
Smith, James 75 79
Smith, Increase S. 81 243
Smith, Dr. 320
Smith, Rev. Aaron 176 191
Smith, George 183
Smith, Abraham 237
Smith, Daniel 183
Smith, Moses (it should be Lancaster,) 209 336 337 338
Smith, John 281
Smith, Anna 281
Smith, John 278 280 282 283 343
Smith, Richard 278 280 283
Snow, Edmund 74
Snow, John 236 238
Snow, Mr. 243
Solomon, 142 146 162
Soombes, Mr. (see errata) 297 300
Sosoohquoh, Jeremy 140
Sosowunnoo, 140
Southgate, 28
Southgate, Richard 68 100
Southgate, John. 79
Southgate, Richard 100
Southgate, Stuart 100
Southgate, Robert 100
Southgate, John 100
Southgate, Isaac 100
Southgate, Elijah 111
Spaulding, John 297
Sparks, Rev. Jared 296
Speen, John 140 141
Speen, James 140 141 142
Sprague, Timothy 68
Sprague, Knight 101
Sprague, Anthony 111
Sprague, Thomas 113
Sprague, Rev. William B. 189
Sprague, John 195 205 207 208 286 310 319 330 335 336 337
Sprague, Noah 330
Sprague, Samuel John 338 340
Spur, John 208 209
Stading, Daniel 357
Staunton, Mary 321
Stearns, Eli 326 335
Stearns, Josiah 209 210
Stearns, William 224
Steadman, William 206 211 300 335 336 337 339

PAGE.

Stebbens, Cyprian 300
Stebbins, John 68
Steel, Thomas 96 205
Stephens, Samuel 154 299
Stephens, Rev. Benjamin 320
Sterling, history of 37 213
Sternhold, Thomas 323
Steward, Ellicsander 155
Stillman, Rev. Dr. 92
Stoddard, Rev. Dr. Solomon 313
Stone, Calvin R. 29
Stone, Isaac 34
Stone, Benjamin 34 30
Stone, Col. 72
Stone, James 153
Stone, Eliphalet 165
Stone, Josiah 165
Stone, Rev. Nathan 176
Stone, Joseph 208
Stone, Dea. John 294
Story, Isaac 52
Stoughton, William 66 347 368 365 367 368
Stow, Samuel 154
Stow, Thomas 154
Stratton, Joseph 155
Strong, Gov. Caleb 310 331
Strong, Solomon 205 209 211
St. John, Elizabeth 317
Stuart, Joseph 42
Stuart, John 337 338
Sumner, Roger 280 282 315 317
Sumner, Lucy 177
Sumner, Bradford 72
Sumner, Samuel 34
Sumner, Rev. Dr. Joseph 17 18 19 20 21 22 80 86 176 177 195 227
Sutton, Richard 280
Swan, Reuben 68 79
Swan, Maj. James 69
Swan, Rev. Josiah 266 320 339
Sweetser, Benjamin 238
Swift, Rev. John 186 187 189
Synagogue, 91
Tackuppawallin, 361
Taft, Peter 79
Taft, Bezaleel 290
Taft, Bezaleel Jr. 210
Tahanto, George 300
Tailor, Edmund 369 370
Takawompait, Daniel 140 141
Tate, version of 323 324
Taylor, William 16
Taylor, John 153
Taylor, Col. Holloway 153
Taylor, John (Attorney) 153 172
Taylor, Sarah 155

	PAGE.
Taylor, John	153 169
Taylor, William	368 369
Taylyer, Elyazer	155
Teffereau,	367
Temple, John	200
Temple, Isaac	192
Temple, Sir John	355
Temple, Elizabeth	355
Tennant, Rev.	216
Tenny, Gideon	180
Tenny, Rebecca	272
Thayer, Rev. Dr. Nathaniel	177 227 230 260 270 311 319 326 328 329
Thayer, Christopher T.	340
Thayer, Rev. Alexander	238 239
Thatcher, Rev. Thomas C.	328
Thomas, Moses	52 327
Thomas, Isaiah	79 208
Thomas, Robert B.	198 203
Thompson, Maj. Robert	247 367 368
Thompson, William	236
Thurston, Silas	307
Thurston, Samuel	335
Thurston, John	335 343
Thurston, Priscilla	272
Tillotson, Jonathan	369 370
Tinker, John	280 282 285
Tokkowompait, Daniel	140
Tomblin, Dea. Isaac	153 155 182
Tomblin, Hezekiah	153 182
Tookanowras, (Silas Rice)	156
Torrey, William	132
Torrey, Ebenezer	340
Torrey, Ebenezer	337
Toutón, John	346
Towers, John	280 343
Town, John	369 370
Town, Ephraim	369 370
Town, Salem	209
Town, Salem Jr.	209
Town, Israel	369 370
Townsend, Joshua	175 183
Towtaid, (Leicester)	66
Tray, Benjamin	140
Trayhe, Philip	66
Tucker, Benjamin	66
Tuffeau, Du	348
Tuffereau,	367
Tufts, Aaron	208 209
Tufts, Rev. James	87
Twitchell, Thomas	369 370
Twitchell, Benjamin	280
Twitchell, Benoni	366 369 370
Tyng, Capt.	297
Upham, Jabez	211
Usher, John	363
Usher, Gov.	365
Vilas, Samuel W.	23
Waaberktamen,	361
Waban, Thomas	140 141
Waban, Old (first convert)	141 143
Wadsworth, Samuel	294
Wadsworth, Rev. Benjamin	294
Waldo, Daniel	209
Waldron, Edward	231
Wainwright, Elizabeth	190
Wales, Joseph	326 337
Walker, Reuben	42
Walker, Sarah	274
Walter, Nehemiah	363
Wamesit,	137 138
Wamesqut, John	138 139 140
Wampanoags,	291
Wampom, John	66
Ward, Col. William	185 205
Ward, Elizabeth	185
Ward, Capt. Samuel	274 300 307 310 315 317 335 337
Ward, Nathaniel	312
Ward, Henry	280
Ward, Andrew H.	1 34 189
Ward, Nahum	2 205
Ward, Thomas W.	28 207
Ward, Gen. Artemas	34 120 126 185 207 210 211
Ward, Artemas (Judge)	34 205 333
Ward, Henry D.	34
Ward, Hezekiah	109 110
Ward, Col. Jonathan	111
Ward, William	130 160 185
Ward, Obediah	134 154 184 185
Ward, Richard	134 184 185
Ward, Lieut. Samuel	137
Ward, Thomas	153 155 182 183
Ward, Joseph	154
Ward, Oliver	154 182 183
Ward, Increase	154
Ward, Samuel Sen.	155
Ward, William	155 184
Ward, Samuel	155
Ward, Joseph	155
Ward, widow Hannah	155
Ward, Samuel	340
Ware, Rev. Dr. Henry	177
Warehasset, (Wachusett)	273
Warner, Jonathan	208 209 210
Warner, John	267
Warren, Eliphalet	165 184
Warren, Thomas	183 184
Warren, Gen. Joseph	266
Warren, Abel	183
Warren, ———	183
Washacum,	38 273 290 300
Washburn, John	122
Washburn, Ruth	12
Washburn, Joseph	95 159

PAGE.

Washburn, Emory 65 72
Washburn, Col. Seth 72 80 105 109 110 111 112 113 116 208 122
Washington, Gen. George 250
Wassamagoin, 273
Waters, Jacob 282
Waters, Joseph 282
Waters, Anne 282
Waters, Lawrence 274 276 280 283
Waters, Ephraim 282
Waters, Israel 79
Waters, Rachel 282
Watson, Capt. William 79
Watson, Samuel 79
Watson, Benjamin 105
Watson, William 105
Watson, Dea. Oliver 110
Wattaquadduck, 266 284 292
Wattasacompanum, (the Nipmuc Sagamore) 290
Watts, Isaac 324
Wawannow, 66
Wechecum, 273
Weeks, Supply 155
Weeks, John 192
Wehapekatonnuc, 66
Weld, Stephen M. 340
Welde, ——— 232
Wells, John 51
Weshakim, 273
Wesson, Silas 158
Wetherby, Thomas 155
Wheeler, Mrs. 356
Wheeler, Joseph 207
Wheeler, Theophilus 207
Wheeler, Richard 292
Wheeler, Joseph 292
Wheeler, Abraham 296
Wheeler, widow 297
Wheeler, Adam 119
Wheeler, Joseph 143 152 153 160 182
Wheeler, Mariam 152
Wheeler, Daniel 153
Wheeler, John 155
Wheelock, Martha 272
Wheelock, ——— 322
Wheelock, Daniel 3
Wheelock, Gershom 26
Wheelock, Samuel 154
Whitcomb, John 279 281 283
Whitcomb, *Doctress* 339
Whitcomb, Jonathan 279 283
Whitcomb, Job 287
Whitcomb, widow 296
Whitcomb, Josiah 317 334
Whitcomb, Hezekiah 42
Whitcomb, John 42
Whitcomb, Col. Asa 43 306 309 334 335

PAGE.

Whitcomb, Asa 52 231
White, (Singer) 43
White, Abigail 271
White, Hannah 272
White, Jonathan 272
White, Martha 271
White, Mary 271
White, Dea. Josiah 271
White, Moses 206 207
White, Rev. Seneca 198
White, William 340
White, Mary 293
White, Goodman 282
White, Elizabeth 281
White, John 278 280 282 283 293 343
White, Joanna 272
White, Ruth 272
White, Joseph 272
White, Jotham 272
White, Silence 272
White, John 272
White, Elisha 272
White, Jonathan 298
White, Capt. John 272
White, Josiah 303 320 334
Whitfield, Rev. Edward 216
Whipple, Rev. Edwards 21
Whipsufferadge, 132 134 142 143 288
Whipsuppenicke, 132 134 135 141 145 288
Whiting, Timothy 208 310 336
Whiting, James 280
Whiting, Rev. John 296 300 314 316 317
Whiting, Timothy 310 337
Whiting, Gen. John 310 336 336
Whiting, Rev. Samuel 317
Whiting, Oliver 317
Whiting, Alice 317
Whiting, Solon 338
Whitney, Joshua 370
Whitney, John 343
Whitney, Rev. Aaron 176
Whitney, William 193
Whitney, Caleb 231
Whitney, Rev. Phinehas 327
Whitney, William 3
Whitney, Elijah 3
Whitney, Rev. Peter 152 163 167 168 172 176 177 179 326
Whitney, Benjamin 155
Whitney, Rev. Peter Jr. 172 177
Whythingham, William 327
Wicker, David 236
Wicker, Jacob 236
Wicker, John 236
Wilby, Francis 94

PAGE.

Wilder, Joseph (Judge) 205 207 299 303 318 334 336 337
Wilder, Abel 208
Wilder, Sawyer 231
Wilder, Joseph Jr. 264 320 334 336 337
Wilder, Col. Caleb 264 265 318 337
Wilder, Levi 265
Wilder, Dr. Josiah 267
Wilder, Jonathan 268 286 307
Wilder, Frederick 268 340
Wilder, Martha 272
Wilder, Samuel 272
Wilder, Capt. Ephraim 45 272 299
Wilder, Thomas 45 280 319 341
Wilder, Lieut. Nathaniel 45 297 298 300 341
Wilder, Jonathan 38 298
Wilder, Oliver 299 320
Wilder, James 299
Wilder, Nathaniel Jr. 299
Wilder, Samuel 300
Wilder, James 52 303 327 334 339
Wilder, David 303 306 334
Wilder, Jacob 303
Wilder, Joseph (died) 309
Wilder, John 45 316 341
Wilder, Thomas 317 319 341
Wilder, S. V. S. 329
Wilder, Ephraim 334 336
Wilder, Ebenezer 334
Wilder, Jonathan 335 336
Wilder, David 336
Wilder, Ephraim 336
Wilder, Josiah 337 338 339 340
Wilder, Thomas 340 343
Wilder, Edward 340 343
Wilder, Charles W. 341
Wilder, Abel 341
Wilder, Thomas 341
Wilder, Joseph 341
Wyelder, Thomas 282
Willard, Samuel 205 266
Willard, Joseph 257 337 338
Willard, Col, Abijah 260 266 307 308 337
Willard, Levi 266 338 339
Willard, Abel 266 308 330 337 338 339 340
Willard, Rev. Joseph 267
Willard, Simon 272
Willard, Maj. Simon 284 285 289 319 337
Willard, Samuel 285 320 334 336 337 338

PAGE.

Willard, Rev. Samuel 313 319
Willard, Paul 337 340
Willard, William 337
Willard, Jacob (see errata) 340
Willard, Joshua W. 340
Willard, Calvin 207
Willard, J. 3
Williams, Dr. Thomas 330
Williams, George 192
Williams, Col. Ephraim 62
Williams, Abraham 136 138 139 140 154 190 192
Williams, Samuel 140
Williams, Stephen 151 153 170 178 182
Williams, Lieut. 154
Wilson, Rev. Luther 81
Wilson, Asariah 35
Wincols, John 143
Winslow, John 173
Winthrop, Thomas L. 355
Winthrop, Francis William 355
Winthrop, James 355
Winthrop, William 318
Wiser, James 140
Wiswell, Noah 143
Witt, Oliver 238
Witton, James 260
Wolves, number of 133
Wononatomog, William 140
Wood, Abraham 184
Wood, Nathaniel 198 269
Wood, Samuel 167 168 183 184
Wood, Rev. Jacob 23
Wood, Isaac 144
Wood, John 155
Woodcock, John 75
Wooddroffe, Rev. William 316
Woodrop, Rev. William 316
Woods, John 184
Woods, Joshua 143 154
Woods, James 154
Woods, Is. 155
Woodward, Rev. Mr. 176
Woonksechauxit, 301 310 320
Woonsamug, 300
Wrifford, Abel 329
Wright, Rev. Phinehas 327
Wright, Nathaniel 387
Wuttanamit, Benjamin 142
Wyman, Benjamin 335 337
Wyman, Abel 309
Wyman, Ross 108
Zweares, Jacob (see errata) 307

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